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CORNELII TACITI

DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS

PETERSON

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DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS

A Revised Text

WITH INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS

AND

CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

BY

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PREFACE

THIS book may be regarded as a companion volume to the edition of the Tenth Book of Quintilian's *Institutio* which was published in the autumn of 1891. The one has led to the other: indeed it was while preparing the Quintilian that it occurred to me to take the *Dialogue* also in hand. The motive was the same in both cases—a wish to do something to remove from the scholarship of this country the reproach of neglecting two of the most interesting specimens of Latin literature, or of relying for a knowledge of them almost entirely on foreign sources.

The reader to whom the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* is a new work will find much in its character, contents, and history to account for the extent of space which I have claimed from my indulgent publishers for its adequate treatment. Scholars know that it is brimful of problems, though an exhaustive discussion of these problems, such as I have endeavoured to give in the Introduction, has hitherto been conspicuously absent from the achievements of Latinists at home. For students, again, the treatise is of the utmost value, as supplying a field for the exercise of many of the qualities—such as sense of style, literary judgment and critical ability—without which a knowledge of Latin will often prove only a barren possession. In this connection, I may quote the words in which Classen says there will be general agreement: 'dass der Dialog in seinem mässigen Umfang ungemein reichen Stoff zu den anziehendsten Discussionen der verschiedensten Art darbietet; und diese Eigenschaft eben ist es, die ihn nach meiner Ansicht ganz besonders zur gemeinsamen Lectüre mit reifern Schülern, die wir zu selbstständigem Nachdenken und umsichtigem Urtheil anzuleiten wünschen, geeignet macht.'

A flavour of antiquarian interest also attaches to the treatise in virtue of the story of its discovery in the middle of the fifteenth century. I have attempted to do justice to this in part of the chapter on the Manuscripts. In my researches into the history of the codex in the British Museum (Harl. 2639) I have been greatly indebted to the help, always most ungrudgingly given, of Mr. Geo. F. Warner, Assistant Keeper of MSS.

For the critical apparatus, my chief obligation is to the collation of the MSS. given by Michaelis in his edition of 1868, admirably supplemented as it has been in recent years by Dr. F. Scheuer. In recording the various manuscript readings, I have generally proceeded on the principle of admitting what are obvious errors only when they are instructive as bearing on the vexed question of the inter-relationship of the codices. Everything has been included that seemed necessary for the critical study of the text. The corrupt and defective condition in which it has come down to us may be advanced as some justification for the acceptance of emendations proposed by different critics, as well as for the insertion of several of my own conjectures, some of which have already appeared in the columns of the *Classical Review*. The result is that the text will be found to differ considerably from that of Halm.

For what is not new in the explanatory notes I have relied mainly on the excellent editions of Andresen, Peter, and Wolff. The suggestive commentary with which Dr. C. John has enriched his translation should also be mentioned. I have had occasion to refer more than once to the second part of it, published as recently as last year, and containing much valuable matter. It is more difficult to describe the nature of my obligations to the large body of pamphlet literature that has accumulated round the *Dialogue*: reference may be made, however, to the lists of tractates given on pp. lxxxix–xci. Many of them are of little substantial worth, but it may be of interest to give a complete catalogue of everything that I have had actually at hand in preparing this book. A few articles and pamphlets which I have never seen have been omitted, but I doubt if they will be missed.

W. P.

DUNDEE, *July*, 1893.

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INTRODUCTION

The *Dialogue on Oratory* has long been one of the puzzles of literary antiquity. In no other work, of similar character and scope, is the student confronted by so many problems, the more tantalizing because some of them, at least, seem incapable of any final settlement. The circumstances of the re-appearance of the treatise in the middle of the fifteenth century, the long war that has been waged over the question whether it is a genuine work of Tacitus, its relation, in point of style and date of composition, to the other writings of the historian, its aim and purpose, its original form and extent, the distribution of parts between the various interlocutors, and the history of the constitution of the text—all these are matters which demand to be dealt with; and their adequate presentation requires an amount of space, as well as of research and investigation, that might seem at first sight out of all proportion to the unpretending character of the little work in which they originate. This may help to account for the rather remarkable phenomenon that, notwithstanding the attractiveness both of its contents and its style, the *Dialogue* has not hitherto been edited in this country. So far as English scholarship is concerned, it is in fact an almost entirely neglected work. This is all the more to be wondered at as, with the exception of the Letters of Pliny, no contemporary work supplies so vivid a picture of the literary and intellectual tendencies of cultured society at Rome in the first century of the Empire. The treatise forms, as it were, a connecting link between the better-known prose literature of the classical period and that which is represented by the less familiar writings of Seneca, the two Plinys, and Quintilian. It is the best introduction, especially for younger readers, to the historical works of Tacitus himself, which require for their full understanding a riper judgment and a greater faculty of literary appreciation than is needed for the prose authors by whom they are preceded in the ordinary

course of study. For this reason—especially in view of the comparative poverty of Latin literature in such works—the *Dialogue* might have been expected to win a place for itself in the curriculum of our higher schools and Universities. Its substance is as valuable as its form is interesting and attractive. It introduces us to a distinguished circle of public men at Rome, who are represented as taking advantage of a more or less accidental gathering to discuss questions of great interest and importance for us as well as for themselves. Meeting together in the calm repose which had resulted from the political settlement recently effected by the founder of the Flavian dynasty, they bring under review past and present circumstances in their bearing upon the profession in which they have all more or less a common interest, the profession of oratory,—exchanging opinions as to the merit and fame of the great orators of republican times, as well as the divergent tendencies of the spirit of their own day, comparing the main features of previous and contemporary methods of education, and endeavouring to estimate the influence of political conditions on the growth and prosperity of the art with which they are all connected. All this gives the *Dialogue* a value of its own, independently of other features of interest. It is moreover written in a natural, easy, and straightforward style, offering many points of contrast to that which we are accustomed to associate with the literature of the epoch of which it is so charming a survival.

I.

THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP AND DATE.

Had there been any tradition in the Middle Ages that the historian Tacitus was the author of such a treatise as the *Dialogue*, there would have been less ground for the scepticism which has so persistently prevailed in regard to it, almost since the date of its re-discovery. But there seems to have been none. The Humanists of the Renaissance searched for many ancient writings which, though lurking concealed in neglected corners, they knew must somewhere exist; and in their search they stumbled upon others of which even the memory had passed away. One of these was the *Dialogue*, which had come down to them through the unbroken quiet of the centuries without any literary notice to put them on its track, a monks' treasure in regard to which one might almost imagine there had been a conspiracy of silence.

It might have been expected that a work which had escaped the notice of previous ages, and which, in the one and only manuscript to which we

owe its survival, had evidently proclaimed itself to be the work of Tacitus, would have been either accepted without cavil and criticism or boldly denounced as a forgery and a fraud. *Habent sua fata libelli.* At first, indeed, the *Dialogue* was unhesitatingly included, along with the other writings of the historian, so far as then known, in the editio princeps, published by Vendelin de Spira at Venice in 1470. This was within some twelve or thirteen years of its re-appearance. But when the discovery, in 1508, of the first six books of the *Annals* had given fresh evidence not only of the historical bent of the genius of Tacitus, but also of the peculiar individuality of his style, doubts began to be entertained. It seemed difficult to believe that the easy and flowing language of the *Dialogue* could rightly be attributed to the writer who had employed what was almost a new method of literary expression in the terse, pointed, and pregnant phraseology of the *Annals*. And as the codex from which his minor works had been recovered contained also treatises by other authors, including Suetonius's fragment *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, it was supposed that the ascription of the *Dialogue* to Tacitus, in the title, might be the mistake of a scribe, who had inadvertently confounded with the writer of the *Agricola* and the *Germania* the author of a work on altogether different lines, which it had been found convenient, at some time or other, to include in a single codex along with these. The earliest literary expression of these scruples is to be found in the edition of Beatus Rhenanus (Bilde of Rheinau in Elsass) which appeared at Bâle in 1519 and again in 1533. Rhenanus inclined to believe that the *Dialogue* was a comparatively late work, which had been skilfully invested with the appearance of antiquity by the introduction of personages and events belonging to the age of Tacitus. But he gave only an uncertain sound. His half-hearted deliverance—*Hunc dialogum vix crediderim esse Taciti* —had nothing like the effect on contemporary opinion that was afterwards produced by the more pronounced scepticism of the great Dutch scholar J. Lipsius. In the preface to his famous edition of the year 1574, Lipsius declared against the Tacitean authorship with all the confidence of an inspired literary oracle (*tam certum . . . quam si respondisset Apollo*). His main ground was that which has been founded on ever since, the obvious difference of style: *stilus valde abnuit, non fallax in hoc genere argumentum, qui in nostro constrictus ubique, teres, acutus et severus magis quam lepidus, hic omnia contra.* To the argument that style may vary with a writer's advance in years and with the subject of which he treats, Lipsius replied that such change is possible only within certain limits, never to the extent of a complete transformation (*numquam ita ut prorsus abeat á sese*). He did not hesitate, however, to class

the *Dialogue* with the best works of its kind, as a genuine monument of classical antiquity. At first he thought that he had discovered in it Quintilian's lost treatise, *De causis corruptae eloquentiae*[1]; and accordingly the title under which the work appeared in his original Antwerp edition was '*Fab. Quintiliani, ut videtur, Dialogus an sui saeculi oratores et quare concedant: Cornelio Tacito falso inscriptus.*' But as Quintilian was born about 35 A.D., he could hardly have described himself as being still *iuvenis admodum* (*Dial.* 1. 12) in 74–75 A.D., the year in which the conversation out of which the *Dialogue* resulted is generally understood to have taken place. This consideration was in itself enough to shake, even in his own mind, the view to which Lipsius had given a perhaps too hasty expression; and so in subsequent issues of his work *Tacito vulgo inscriptus* takes the place of *Tacito falso inscriptus*, while in his third (Leyden) edition of 1585, he states his doubts about Quintilian, though still convinced of the difficulties in the way of the traditional view. Lipsius's final attitude was, in fact, that which is adopted by more than one critic of the present day—a judicial *Non liquet.*

But though he expressly disclaimed any wish to impose his own opinions on his contemporaries or successors (*nihil aliis praeeo quod sequantur*), the authority of his great name sufficed to induce a general suspension of judgement during the two centuries which succeeded his epoch. Some scholars adhered to the Tacitean tradition, others advocated Quintilian[2]: some took a new departure, ascribing the *Dialogue* to the younger Pliny, or to Suetonius, or to the poet-pleader who is its central figure, Curiatius Maternus. But Pliny could only have been thirteen years of age when he is supposed to have been present at the conversation reported in the treatise: Suetonius is chronologically still more impossible: while the theory about Maternus is altogether inconsistent with the 'setting' of the *Dialogue*, which purports to be written by one who, so far from taking a leading part in the conversation narrated, had been merely a listener to the views of others[3]. The safest position was

[1] Quint. Inst. Or. vi. Pr. § 3 [*Librum*] *quem de causis corruptae eloquentiae emisi;* viii. 6, 76 *eundem locum plenius in eo libro quo causas corruptae eloquentiae reddebamus tractavimus.* Lipsius overlooked not only the chronological difficulties involved in the ascription of the *Dialogue* to Quintilian, but also (*a*) the fact that the subject matter of his lost work was different from that of the Dialogue—the decadence of style rather than the inferiority of contemporary eloquence: (*b*) the fact that Quintilian never speaks of it as a dialogue: and (*c*) the absence from the *Dialogue* of any reference to the subject (hyberbole) under discussion in the passage above quoted (Quint. viii. 6, 76).

[2] In recent years the Quintilian theory has again been revived by Dr. Robert Novak.

[3] An account of the fluctuations of opinion, as well as of the curious arguments used in support of the different views, will be found in Eckstein's Prolegomena, pp. 41–62.

certainly that of those who did not attempt to fasten the treatise on any known author, but contented themselves with referring to it as an anonymous work *qui olim Taciti esse putabatur*. This was the attitude adopted by the great critic of Homer, Fr. A. Wolf, who qualified, however, his high commendation both of the substance and the form of the 'aureolus libellus' by questioning whether it was altogether worthy of so great a genius as Tacitus.

The reaction in favour of the historian began at the commencement of the present century. Spalding's careful study of the text of Quintilian led him to declare emphatically against the theory which attributed the authorship of the *Dialogue* to the great rhetorician [1]; and the way was thus cleared for a return to Tacitus. It was under Spalding's auspices also [2] that the first intimation was made of the discovery of a parallelism which seemed at once to decide the question in the historian's favour, and which has therefore played a large part in all subsequent discussions. A. G. Lange had noted and communicated to Spalding the remarkable correspondence between certain words which occur in a letter addressed to Tacitus by his friend Pliny and a well-known passage in the *Dialogue*. Referring to the writing of poetry, Pliny says to Tacitus (*Epp.* ix. 10) *poemata . . . tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas*,—words which at once remind the student of the *Dialogue* of what Aper is made to say at the end of ch. 9, *adice quod poetis . . . in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est*: and of Maternus's reply, 12. 1 sq. *Nemora vero et luci, et secretum ipsum quod Aper increpabat, tantam mihi afferunt voluptatem ut inter praecipuos carminum fructus numerem, quod nec in strepitu*, &c. It must be admitted, however, that unless Pliny intended to make a pointed reference to the author's identification of his own views with those of Maternus, as his mouthpiece, there is less than might appear at first sight to found upon in the parallelism just quoted: the combination *nemora et luci* is of frequent occurrence elsewhere, and Pliny may be merely replying to Tacitus in words which Tacitus himself had used in a letter previously addressed to his friend and correspondent. Of at least equal importance is the more general argument put forward by Lange in the dissertation in which he subsequently expanded his views [3]. He laid stress on the known fact that Tacitus had both a theoretical and a practical acquaintance with the art of oratory, and that his historical works contain many examples of his ability in this department. He also called attention to the remarkable

[1] See his edition of Quintilian, vol. ii. pp. 424-427: vol. i. Praef. p. xxxix.

[2] See Weinkauff, p. xvi.

[3] 'Dialogus de Oratoribus Tacito vindicatus,' incorporated in Dronke's edition (1828), pp. xvi-xxviii.

similarity between the criticisms pronounced on individual orators in the *Dialogue* and those which occur from time to time in the historical books. Further, the whole tone of the *Dialogue*, and the features which reveal the mental attitude of its author, were declared by Lange to be in entire harmony and correspondence with what we know of Tacitus from his other works—the familiar habit of psychological reflection, the tendency to dwell regretfully on the comparison of the present with the past, the grave earnestness with which the writer discourses on the education of youth, the pervading intensity of moral purpose, and the love of freedom that finds expression in what seem to be compromising and even dangerous utterances. In short, the epoch of the *Dialogue*, its contents, and the writer's method of treating his subject all tell in favour of the belief in the authorship of Tacitus. As to the style, a public man in the Rome of Tacitus's day, who would have frequent occasion to speak in the presence of others, must have had at command an easy, simple, flowing, and pleasing method of expression, such as that which we find in the *Dialogue*—where, moreover, there is, as might have been expected, an artistic adaptation of the external form to the characters and sentiments of the different interlocutors. The difference in style is to be accounted for by the difference of subject. The writer could not have used, for such a work, the compressed, epigrammatic, and sometimes even enigmatical language of the *Annals*.

Lange's views were combated by, among others, H. Gutmann in a dissertation which Orelli incorporated in his edition of the *Dialogue* (Turin, 1830)[1]. The writer bases his acceptance of the conclusions of F. A. Wolf partly on chronological grounds, and partly on the internal evidence of the substance and style of the *Dialogue*. Tacitus is known to have been praetor in A. D. 88, and this office was not usually (at least in republican times) conferred on any one who had not attained the age of forty. Gutmann finds it difficult to believe that the historian could have properly described himself as having been *iuvenis admodum* in the year A. D. 74–75. In point of style, the treatise appears to him to illustrate many of the features of an age of decline; and while recognizing the interest and value of much of its contents, especially Messalla's utterances about the upbringing of the young, he so far forgets the dramatic character of the conversation which it reports as to charge against the writer, rather than the speaker, such obvious sophistries as those in which Aper indulges in chs. 16 and 17. While giving promi-

[1] See p. 101 sq. Gutmann's dissertation also appears as a preface to his German translation of the Dialogue: 2nd edition, Stuttgart, 1882.

nence to Gutmann's argument, Orelli himself declared his preference for the tradition of the Tacitean authorship. To him the *Dialogue* was a work of the historian's youth, written while he was still under the influence of the associations of the schools of rhetoric, and before he had passed from the stage of enthusiastic adherence to Cicero, as the perfect model of Latin eloquence, to the development of the highly individual style which characterizes the *Histories*, and still more the *Annals*. The absurdity involved in applying the same standard of criticism to a dramatic dialogue and a narrative of events he protests against in the following words: *Aliam orationem exigit narratio rerum, aliam disceptatio quaestionis alicuius. Boni scriptoris est utrumque genus intellectu distinguere, alterutro uti, excellentis vero parem esse in utriusque orationis facultate. Atqui ego Tacitum excellentem dicendi artificem existimo, tam vi naturae quam arte doctrinaque. Quid mirum igitur si in dissimillimo genere dicendi sibi ipsi dissimillimus fuit?*

If the current of opinion since Orelli's day had set in the same direction, the history of the controversy might now be considered closed. But though scholars like Doederlein and Niebuhr sided with the vindicators of Tacitus, nothing better than an open verdict was arrived at by Eckstein, when he undertook to review all the conditions of the problem as well as the opinions which had previously been pronounced on either side[1]. While fully appreciating the force of the various arguments which had been adduced in favour of Tacitus, and without attempting to disprove the tradition of his authorship on any such grounds as inferiority of subject matter or discrepancy of dates, Eckstein concluded that the disparity of style was so great (*ob difficultatem in dicendi genere a Taciti plane abhorrente positam*) that more light must be waited for before any final deliverance could be arrived at[2]. For a time negative criticism was again in the ascendant. Eckstein was followed by H. C. A. Eichstädt[3], whose views may be found summarized in Orelli's second edition (1848), vol. ii, p. 523. He believed that the treatise was composed during the reign of Domitian (though it may not have seen the light till the time of Nerva or Trajan) by one who was well read in contemporary literature, as well as in the works of Cicero. In general, the style is held to resemble that of Quintilian, though it is admitted that Spalding had effectually disposed of the theory that Quintilian was the

[1] Fr. Aug. Eckstenii Prolegomena in Taciti, qui vulgo fertur, Dialogum de Oratoribus: Halis Saxonum, 1835.

[2] *Quare totam rem, dum meliora proferantur in medio relinquendam esse censuimus*, p. 84.

[3] Quaest. philolog. specimen sextum: de Dialogo qui inscribitur de Oratoribus: Jenae, 1839.

author. Who the author was, must remain one of the unsolved problems of literature: *quisnam ex illa aetate conscripserit Dialogum, vix poterit ad liquidum perduci.*

The year 1841 produced no fewer than three editions of the *Dialogue*, those of Hess, Tross, and Pabst. The two editors first named do not grapple with the question of authorship, though their work was of value in other respects; but Pabst came forward as an uncompromising champion of the Tacitean tradition, dwelling not only on correspondences between the *Dialogue* and the historical books in regard to the use of words and figures, &c., but also on the tone of regret for bye-gone times, and the lament over the decay of morals which readers of Tacitus at once recognize as so characteristic of his mental attitude. Seven years later, the appearance of a pamphlet by A. Dupré[1] brought Gutmann again into the field, without eliciting, however, anything of weight on the negative side except a renewal of the contention that it would have been impossible for an author who had written and published the *Dialogue* before or during the early part of Domitian's reign to have lived safely through the horrors of his administration. Bernhardy, the historian of Roman literature, sided with the opposition, arguing that the points of resemblance between the *Dialogue* and the other writings of Tacitus were unimportant when compared with the points of difference, and that the latter proved more than the former[2]. At this stage of the controversy (1857) Fr. Weinkauff produced the firstfruits of those exhaustive labours which entitle him to the credit of having furnished scholars with much of the material necessary for its settlement[3]. The divergencies from the later style of Tacitus he explained by reference to the character of the historian's early studies, and to the careful imitation of Cicero which both he and his friend Pliny the Younger seem to have prescribed for themselves; and founding not only on the general tone of the treatise but also on a laborious and detailed examination of its language and style, he concluded that the *Dialogue* was a genuine work of Tacitus, composed probably in the early part of Domitian's reign. A similar view as to the date of the composition (though he afterwards departed from it) was also taken by Nipperdey in his edition of the *Annals*: looking, however, to the introduction to the *Agricola*, from which it might appear that Tacitus published nothing during Domitian's reign, he preferred to believe that the *Dialogue* was written and given to the world under

[1] Dialogum de Oratoribus nec Quintiliano nec cuivis alii, sed Tacito adjudicandum esse censuit ac demonstrare tentavit A. Dupré, Licentiatus: Saint-Calais, Imp. de Peltier-Voisin, 1848.

[2] See his Röm. Litt. p. 862 sqq.

[3] See his De Tacito Dialogi, qui de Oratoribus inscribitur, Auctore: Editio Nova atque Aucta, Coloniae Agrippinae (Roemke), 1881.

Titus, in the year 81 A. D. His subsequent change of view was motived by the consideration that no one writing in the year 81, at so short an interval after the conversation narrated in the *Dialogue* had taken place, would have been likely to describe himself as having been then *iuvenis admodum*: 'so spricht Niemand von sich, der erst sieben oder acht Jahre älter geworden ist.' Accordingly Nipperdey declared for the year 97 A. D., or thereby, as the date of composition. Accepting the argument that the Dialogue could not have been written before the death of Domitian, Professor Sauppe[1] drew from it the conclusion that Tacitus could not possibly have been the author of a treatise of which the style is so altogether different from that of the works which he is known to have written towards the close of the first century A. D.

These views were combated by Steiner in one of the weightiest contributions ever made to the settlement of the controversy[2]. Steiner felt no difficulty in believing that Tacitus writing in, say his twenty-fifth year (three years after his marriage with the daughter of Agricola, to whom he tells us[3] he had become betrothed, as *iuvenis*, in the year 77 A.D.), would have referred to himself as *iuvenis admodum* in describing the circumstances of a literary debate to which he had listened when probably only about eighteen years of age. At such a time of life an interval of seven years, especially when so crowded with important events, counts for much more than an equal interval in the life of an older man. Steiner also dwells on the antecedent probability that a young author who had devoted himself in his earlier years to the study of eloquence would have taken the opportunity of embodying in a rhetorical treatise like the *Dialogue* that lively sense of the contrast between past and present, between the real and the ideal, which seems to have been ever before the mind of the historian. After reviewing the other conditions of the problem, and pointing out the impossibility, in the light of the marked stylistic difference, of the view that the *Dialogue* was written about the same time as the *Germania* and the *Agricola*, Steiner concludes as follows[4]: 'Da also sowohl die Lebensumstände der im Dialogus auftretenden Personen, als auch die Lebensumstände und Studien des Tacitus selbst ganz wohl zu der Abfassung des Dialogus unter Titus im J. 81 n. Ch. passen, und da, wenn der Dialogus in so früher Jugend geschrieben ist, auch der von den spätern historischen Werken abweichende Stil, zumal bei der Verschiedenheit des Stoffes und der dialogischen Form, sehr natürlich und erklärlich ist; da endlich die ganze

[1] Philologus, xix. 2, p. 256 sqq.

[2] Ueber den Dialogus: J. W. Steiner, Kreuznach, 1863.

[3] Agric. ix.

[4] p. 27.

geistige Richtung und Weltanschauung des Tacitus mit dem Inhalte und der Tendenz des Dialogus recht gut übereinstimmt: so müssen wir den Handschriften, den ältesten Ausgaben und sonstigen Zeugnissen zufolge den Tacitus, und nur den Tacitus, als Verfasser des Dialogus anerkennen.'

Attention was now (1868) called by Professor Edward Wölfflin to the fact that the peculiar and highly individual style with which the name of Tacitus is identified was the result of development and growth [1]. Wölfflin protested against the habit of regarding the historian's style and diction as a constant whole, instead of as a progressive feature which he developed through various stages until its highest expression was reached in his latest work, the *Annals*. Applying this principle of a stylistic 'genesis' to the *Dialogue*, Wölfflin sought to demonstrate that there are connecting links which, in spite of an interval of some twenty years, enable the critic to establish identity of authorship with the earliest historical writings of Tacitus. His argument derived support from the appearance, in the same year, of the first edition of Draeger's well-known work *Ueber die Syntax und den Stil des Tacitus*. It might have been expected now that the controversy would have been regarded as, on the whole, settled in favour of the vindicators of Tacitus; but in publishing the edition of the *Dialogue* which is perhaps the most widely used at the present time, Dr. Georg Andresen took the opportunity of ranging himself alongside of the opponents of the traditional view. Andresen agrees with those critics who consider it impossible that the *Dialogue* can have been written before the reign of Domitian. If it had been an early work of Tacitus, composed under Titus, he would surely have referred to the conversation out of which it resulted as having taken place *paucos abhinc annos* rather than when he was a very young man (*iuvenis admodum*). Andresen doubts, moreover, whether so young an author as Tacitus was in the reign of Titus would have been intellectually ripe for the treatment of such topics as those dealt with in the *Dialogue*: also whether Fabius Justus, the intimate friend of the younger Pliny, and probably no older than he, would have been likely in the year 74–75 A.D. (when Pliny, at least, is known to have been only thirteen years of age) to attack, along with the youthful Tacitus, the deep-lying problem of the causes of the decline of eloquence. Further, he considers it barely credible that the allusions to Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus (chs. 8 and 13) would have been risked while they were still alive: and though the former died in 79, the latter is known to have flourished at the court of Domitian and to have died, at an advanced old age, shortly before the year 93. Andresen

[1] Philologus, vol. xxv. p. 95 sqq.

concludes, therefore, that the *Dialogue* was written, at the soonest, immediately after the close of Domitian's reign, that is to say at a time when we find, in the *Germania* and the *Agricola*, the historical style of Tacitus already developed in its main features. We are thus, according to him, on the horns of a dilemma, and must either attribute the authorship of the treatise to some cultured contemporary, or else adopt the theory (for which no adequate support can be adduced either from psychology or from the history of literature) that it is possible for the same writer to employ at one and the same time the most diverse styles. Such are the grounds on which, even in his third edition (1891), Andresen falls back on the *Non liquet* of Lipsius: 'somit erscheint die Frage der Autorschaft unserer Schrift noch heute ungelöst.'

The fullest recent statement, in convenient form, of the gist of the whole controversy is to be found in the work of Jansen, *de Tacito Dialogi Auctore*, Groningen, 1878. Jansen first undertakes to consider whether, in order to prove the authorship of Tacitus, it is necessary to hold that the *Dialogue* was the work of the historian's youth. This done, he proceeds to show that the treatise must have actually appeared while he was still a young man, and that there is nothing chronologically impossible in such a supposition. Next he reviews the internal evidence in favour of the Tacitean tradition, devoting his concluding chapter to an examination of the style of the treatise. To him it appears to be not so unlike that of the historian as that the difference cannot be explained by the interval of time and other considerations, while it is marked by many features peculiarly Tacitean.

The mere narrative of such a controversy as this, with all the various fluctuations of opinion even up to quite recent years, might very well induce in the mind of any reader unfamiliar with the text of the *Dialogue* a condition of suspended judgment. The question has been thoroughly discussed since the days of Lipsius, and it is doubtful if any fresh light will ever be thrown on it. It must be settled in accordance with the evidence now before us, after a careful and repeated study of the text itself. But in all such literary problems, as notably the authorship and composition of the Homeric poems, the verdict arrived at by individuals generally varies with the mental habit and pre-suppositions, not to say prejudices, of each. It is commonly, in fact, a subjective verdict. Finality is rarely attained, and is perhaps hardly attainable. Yet, in this matter of the authorship of the *Dialogue*, there seem to be data enough, in spite of difficulties which need not be ignored, for a pretty confident acceptance of the traditional view. It is of course unfair to call on those who dis-

credit and reject it to point to any other author to whom the treatise may be attributed with even a fair show of probability: the still unsolved problem of the identity of the writer referred to, as a historian, by Quintilian in the Tenth Book of his *Institutio* (1 § 104) is a sufficient reminder of the gaps that exist in our knowledge of this as of many other periods of literary history. But those who accept the testimony of the manuscripts are at least entitled to ask whether the evidence which has accumulated in favour of the authorship of Tacitus does not outweigh the counter-arguments which must force those who adopt them into assuming the existence of some unknown writer, who otherwise makes no appearance in the literature of his own day.

Let us first examine the data on which it is possible to fix the year in which the conversation narrated in the *Dialogue* purports to have taken place. Unfortunately, the passages of the text from which these data are derived are not free from a suspicion of doubt, but they furnish at least approximate results. That a definite date was present in the mind of the writer is evident from 17. 15, where he makes Aper sum up his chronological computation in the words *centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem colliguntur*[1]. If the speaker is to be taken as meaning that exactly 120 years have elapsed since Cicero's murder, the date of the dialogue would seem to be fixed for December 7, A.D. 78. But a closer consideration of the constituent periods of which Aper's sum total of 120 years is made up, as well as a comparison of the phrase immediately preceding (*sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem quo Vespasianus rem publicam fovet*) will lead to a different conclusion. Whatever difficulties may be involved in the interpretation of the words just quoted (see notes ad loc.) they seem undoubtedly to point to the sixth year of Vespasian's reign. As the annals of Vespasian's principate were made to date from July 1, 69, the day on which the solemn oath of allegiance was taken to him at Alexandria[2], his sixth year would run

[1] If the phrase *in hunc diem* occurred only here, it would not be necessary to interpret it strictly: cp. the use of *hodie*. But it is used again by Maternus on the conclusion of Aper's discourse (24 ad fin.), in a clause which seems a rather remarkable echo of what Aper had said,—*cum praesertim centum et viginti annos ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem effici ratio temporum collegerit*. Unless these words are the addition of some later writer (the phraseology is noted as rather peculiar) due weight must be given to the repetition of the phrase *in hunc diem* in immediate juxtaposition with *ab interitu Ciceronis*. When Messalla, a little lower down (25. 4), states the interval of time in a more general way (*ante centum annos*), he is not taking the death of Cicero as the starting-point of a definite calculation, as Aper had done. See what follows.

[2] *Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum imperii Alexandriae coeptum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui kalendis Iuliis sacramento eius legiones adegit. Isque primus principatus dies in posterum celebratus*, Hist. ii. 79.

from July 1, 74, to July 1, 75. According to this calculation, the conversation recorded in the *Dialogue* must have taken place in that year: if on the very anniversary of Cicero's death (*in hunc diem*), on December 7, A.D. 74. But this gives, strictly speaking, only 116 years as the interval which has elapsed since the death of Cicero, not 120 years as stated in the text. Again, in enumerating the reigns of which the sum total is composed, the manuscripts give 59 for Augustus, 23 for Tiberius, 4 for Caligula, 28 for Claudius and Nero, 1 for Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, and 6 for Vespasian: a total of 121 years. This last discrepancy need not be considered of much weight, especially in view of the approximate character of some of the constituent factors, as, for example, *prope quadriennium Gai*: it is sufficiently accurate for the speaker's purpose. A more serious difficulty consists in the ascription of 59 years to Augustus, when as a matter of fact he ought to be credited with only 56 (A.U.C. 711–767). Some have proposed to leave this standing, as an error of the writer or the speaker (cp. 34 ad fin., where we have *nono decimo* for *uno et vicesimo*); but it is hardly likely that a figure doubtless so well-known would have been incorrectly given. Lipsius therefore changed *novem* to *sex*, and all editors follow his lead. But this gives only 118 years as the total, a consideration which has led to the obvious suggestion that *centum et duodeviginti* should be substituted in the text for *centum et viginti*. It is usually considered more probable, however, (especially in view of the repetition of the figure at the end of ch. 24), that *centum et viginti* is given as a round number, summing up in a general way the duration of the constituent principates as stated in what goes before. In any case, it is impossible to make *centum et viginti* square exactly with *sexta statio* in the sense of the sixth year of Vespasian's reign.

The numbers have in all probability been tampered with by some reader who was anxious to correct the speaker's arithmetic: this is almost certainly the origin of the unhistorical *novem et quinquaginta* for the duration of the reign of Augustus. If we suppose that Aper dated Vespasian's reign from the time of his arrival in Rome, in the middle of the year 70, instead of from July 1, 69, we must follow most editors in fixing on A.D. 75 as the year in which the dialogue was held. This would give, on the inclusive method of reckoning, 118 years as the exact interval (43 + 75): a figure with which the detailed enumeration corresponds, if we adopt Lipsius's emendation *Statue sex et quinquaginta annos*. On this explanation also *centum et viginti* must be either a round number or a mistake for *centum et duodeviginti*. Something might be said in favour of the year A.D. 76, if we were to make three emendations on the

reading of the MSS.: (1) *sex et quinquaginta*, with Lipsius; (2) *septimam . . . stationem*, with Ulrichs; and (3) *centum et undeviginti* (cxix for cxx). On the whole, however, I prefer to hold fast to *sextam stationem*: and taking it as the one fixed and certain factor in the calculation, accept the year A.D. 74–75 as the date wanted, altering the other figures to correspond. This involves the acceptance of Lipsius's *sex et quinquaginta*. If we suppose, further, that *in hunc diem* is to be pressed, as indicating that the company had met on or about the anniversary of Cicero's death, i.e. in December 74[1], we shall be tempted to make an additional change from *centum et viginti* to *centum et sedecim* (cxx–cxvi). Everything will in this way come out square, and in accordance with the known facts of history. The constituent factors are enumerated separately and approximately, and then Aper does the rapid calculation, which gives exactly 116 years (A.U.C. 711–827) as the correct interval between December 43 B.C. and December, A.D. 74.

In favour of the end of the year A.D. 74 as the date of the meeting made famous in the *Dialogue*, a certain amount of additional evidence is derived from various allusions in the body of the treatise itself. Thus at 17. 22 reference is made to the last largess which had been given to the people (*proximo quidem congiario ipsi vidistis plerosque senes*, &c.) as something within recent memory: it is known to have been given by Titus in 73. Again in 37. 1 Mucianus is spoken of as alive and at work over a collection of speeches belonging to the republican period. Now from a passage in Pliny (*N. H.* xxxii. 6, 62), in which he is referred to in the past tense, it has been argued, with great probability that in A.D. 77—the year in which Pliny presented his *Natural History* to Titus—Mucianus was no longer alive (see Teuffel-Schwabe, §§ 313–4). This would seem at least to narrow the range of choice to one of the years preceding that date—as an upper limit. For the lower limit, mention may be made of the use of *nuper*[2] at 5. 30, referring to an appearance made by Eprius Marcellus before the senate, probably in the year A.D. 70. Another reference to the same individual, along with Vibius Crispus, points more definitely to the year 74 itself: *nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia agunt feruntque cuncta* (8. 18). Eprius had been away in Asia from 71 to 73, doing duty as proconsul: he was *consul suffectus*

[1] Does the omission of *Decembres* in all MSS. at 17. 7 in any way support this supposition? Aper is making Tiro his authority: but if the date of the meeting was one of the days between the Nones and the Ides, he might have said for brevity *septimum idus* (*hos idus*?) = 'the seventh of this month.'

[2] For this use of *nuper* 'de remotiore tempore,' see Gerber and Greef, p. 988. Vespasian's liberality to Saleius Bassus—*Laudavimus* nuper *ut miram et eximiam Vespasiani liberalitatem*, 9. 24—was probably of more recent date, nearer the time of the Dialogue than the year A.D. 70.

on his return in 74, and was therefore in that year at the height of his fame[1].

Taking the end of A.D. 74, therefore, as on the whole the most probable date for the historical groundwork of the *Dialogue*, we have next to inquire how it suits the facts of Tacitus's life, especially in regard to the use of the phrase *iuvenis admodum*, 1. 13. The usage of imperial times shows that this expression might embrace a period extending from, say, the eighteenth to the twenty-fourth year[2]. At the date of the historian's

[1] The known facts in the life of Eprius Marcellus are of importance for the question under discussion. His full name and the various magistracies which he held are detailed in an inscription from the province of Cyprus, found at Capua, and preserved at Naples (Henzen 5425): *T. Clodio, M.f., Pal*(atina sc. tribu), *Eprio Marcello, cos. II, auguri, curioni maximo, sodali Augustali, pr*(aetori) *per*(egrino), *procos.Asiae III* (tertium, i.e. three years) *provincia Cypros.* In A.D. 48 he was appointed, for a single day, to a vacancy in the praetorship, occasioned by the deposition of Silanus, Ann. xii. 4. In 57 he appears to have been *legatus propraetore* of Lycia, when he was accused of malversation, ib. xiii. 33: but escaping a verdict of guilty, he afterwards became *consul suffectus*,—probably in the year A.D 61. In 66 he undertook, on Nero's instructions, the impeachment of Thrasea Paetus, and was rewarded with an honorarium of £42,500. This brought him into contact with Helvidius Priscus, Thrasea's son-in-law, who was banished at the same time as Thrasea was put to death; and Helvidius made more than one attempt, after his return from exile in 68, to take vengeance on the enemy of his house. From Hist. iv. 6, 6 it would appear that his zeal in the conduct of a direct impeachment had somewhat abated before the death of Galba (*mox dubia voluntate Galbae multis senatorum deprecantibus omisit Priscus*, l. c.); but we read in the sequel of two separate attacks made by him on Marcellus, one in connexion with the proposal to send an embassay to Vespasian, the new emperor (end of A.D. 69—Hist. iv. 7–10) the other, of a more direct character, in the course of the year following (*Eprium urgebat, ardentibus patrum animis*, Hist. iv. 43). It is probable that this was the occasion referred to in ch. 5. 30 (*Quid aliud infestis patribus* nuper *Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam opposuit?*), when Marcellus triumphed by his eloquence in spite of the hostility of the senate. The phrase *ardentibus patrum animis*, quoted above from the *Histories*, has a certain resemblance to *infestis patribus*: and the incident was a memorable one, *cum glisceret certamen, hinc multi bonique, inde pauci et validi pertinacibus odiis tenderent, consumptus per discordiam dies*, Hist. iv. 43 ad fin. In any case, the triumph of Marcellus recorded in the *Dialogue* (5. 30) must have occurred about the same time: it cannot have been later, for from A.D. 71 to A.D. 73 he was away acting as proconsul of Asia, and Helvidius seems speedily to have fallen out of favour. On his return, Marcellus became a second time *consul suffectus*, in A.D. 74: see Henzen 5418: *a. d. XII. k. Iunias Q. Petilio Ceriale Caesio Rufo II, T. Clodio Eprio Marcello II cos.* He was now (at the time of the Dialogue) at the height of his power: cp. especially 8. 18 (quoted above). But he afterwards conspired against Vespasian, and was driven to commit suicide in A. D. 79 (Dio, lxvi. 16, 3).

[2] Domitian, for example, at the age of eighteen is styled *iuvenis admodum* by Tacitus himself, Agr. vii. 9: and Helvidius Priscus is described in the same way (Hist. iv. 5, 6) at the same age. In Cicero, too, a similar phrase (*adulescens admodum*) is applied to L. Crassus in his twenty-first year (de Off. ii. 13, 17). In the same way Velleius (ii. 41, 3) speaks of Caesar as *admodum iuvenis* in his twenty-fourth year. On the other hand, the use of the terms *iuvenis, adulescens*, and even *adulescentulus*, by themselves, varied considerably: thus Sallust calls Caesar *adulescentulus* at the age of thirty-six (Cat. xlix. 2): M. Brutus is styled *adulescens* by Nepos even at the age of forty-two (Att. viii. 2): Pompey again, at the age of twenty-four, is described as *peradulescens* and *adulescentulus* by Cicero, pro Leg. Man. § 61. See Eckstein, p. 37; Weinkauff, p. xliii.

birth his biographers have been able to arrive approximately by a process of inference. He tells us in the *Histories* (i. 1) that his official career began under Vespasian, and that he received promotion from both Titus and Domitian. This must mean that he was quaestor in the first-mentioned reign, and either tribune or aedile under Titus: while we know that he held the praetorship in A.D. 88. Titus reigned from June 79 to September 81; and, as it is improbable that more than one year intervened between his tenure of the two lower offices, we may infer that Tacitus was quaestor in either 78 or 79. A necessary qualification for this office was that a candidate should have attained his twenty-fifth year, so that we may take it that the year of his birth must be fixed at A.D. 53 or 54. This would make him about twenty at the date at which he was present as a listener when the conversation reported in the *Dialogue* took place: a time of life which agrees admirably with the phrase *iuvenis admodum*. If, with others, we adopt the year 56 as the date of his birth, he may have been two years younger: and either supposition suits the description which he gives of himself as a follower of two of the most famous of contemporary pleaders, Aper and Secundus (2. 6).

The next point to be settled, on the theory that Tacitus wrote the *Dialogue*, is the date at which it was composed and published. Here the views of the critics diverge, as we have already seen, very considerably. Many of them have given undue weight to the passage in the *Agricola* in which Tacitus refers to Domitian's reign as a period during which 'the young have passed to old age, *with closed lips*, and the old almost to the very goal and term of life [1].' From the phrase *per silentium* it has been inferred that Tacitus cannot have written anything of any kind in the reign of Domitian, and the conclusion drawn has been that the *Dialogue* must have been composed either in the reign of Titus or else after Domitian's death, about the same time as the other minor works. But in the passage under consideration, Tacitus is speaking as a historian who (though he may have been industriously collecting material in the evil days which had now come to a close) is hailing a happier era as permitting him at length to break the silence into which he had been coerced. It is quite conceivable that, whether published or not at the time of composition, such a work as the *Dialogue* might have been written in the earlier and brighter years of Domitian's reign. Too much has no doubt been made of the necessity of postulating a considerable interval between the time at which the conversation took place and the time at which the treatise was composed, in order to account for the use of the

[1] Agr. iii. 14 *tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus.*

phrase *iuvenis admodum.* But it must be admitted that if a writer of the age of, say, twenty-five were recounting a conversation to which he had listened when about twenty, he would have been at least as likely to use some such expression as *paucos abhinc annos.* Moreover, in introducing two of the 'dramatis personae,' Aper and Secundus, the author of the *Dialogue* refers to them as 'celeberrima *tum* ingenia fori nostri'—an expression which would certainly seem to point to a longer interval than is compatible with any theory of composition under Titus. We do not know the date of the death either of Aper or of Secundus: and they may be supposed, if not to have died shortly after 74, at least to have retired from active work. But if their death or retirement had been so recent as it must have been if the *Dialogue* was written about the year 79, we should have expected some reference to the fact: as it is, they are spoken of in the past tense (cp. *defuit, contemnebat, nesciebat* 2 ad fin.) in a way that seems to indicate that the writer is contemplating their career from a rather more distant standpoint in time.

But while we may lengthen the interval which separated the date of composition from the historical occurrence on which the *Dialogue* is said to be based, and so combat the arguments which have been founded on the use of the phrase *iuvenis admodum,* we need not accept the view of those who confidently declare that if the work was not written before the accession of Domitian it cannot have been written till after his decease. No adequate explanation of the difference of style can be suggested on any theory which places the date of the *Dialogue* beside that of the *Agricola* and the *Germania*: rather we must establish such an interval as will account for the development of the peculiar Tacitean diction which has begun to show itself, in its main features, in these later treatises. And it must not be forgotten that the writer professes to be recording what took place by the help of 'memory and recollection' alone, *memoria et recordatione* 1. 14—a phrase which, by the way, seems hardly compatible with even reliance on notes taken at the time. It would have been impossible for him to have achieved this feat after an interval of more than twenty years, especially as he professes to narrate the discussion exactly as it took place—*isdem . . . numeris, isdemque rationibus . . . servato ordine disputationis* (1. 19).

If the statement which Tacitus makes in the introduction to the *Agricola* is, as we have seen, inadequate to prove that the *Dialogue* could not possibly have been written under Domitian, is there any other argument that would disprove a supposition which will otherwise account for many of the conditions of the problem under investigation? Here we must distinguish between the early principate of Domitian and the reign of

horror through which Tacitus and other true Romans lived in indignant silence. Like Nero, Domitian had his 'quinquennium'; and it lasted even longer than Nero's, though he was throughout his whole reign gloomy and sombre, if not always actively cruel. 'His conduct,' says Suetonius, 'was at first a mixture of good and evil, but little by little his virtues became vices: need rendered him avaricious, fear made him cruel,'—*inopia rapax, metu saevus* (*Dom.* § 3). If he would have been likely to visit with punishment a writer who, in the early years of his own reign, indulged in some of the outspoken sentiments which we find in the *Dialogue*, he would have been just as likely to act in the same way towards one who had written and published during the short reign of his immediate predecessor. It must have been quite as safe to tell the story of the meeting in Maternus's house, and of how the poet-pleader declared his intention of going on with his 'republican' tragedies, at a time before the temper of the new ruler had showed itself, as it would have been in the year immediately before Domitian came to the throne. For with the inclination to connect the contracted sphere of eloquence with the loss of political freedom, there co-existed in the mind of Maternus, as will be shown afterwards, a general appreciation of the compensating advantages which the empire had brought in its train, and a due regard, in particular, for the benefits conferred on Rome by so wise and upright a ruler as Vespasian (41. 17). The ground of his confident attitude is, in fact, disclosed in his concluding speech. Moreover, we know that Domitian was a patron of literature. Suetonius tells us that he instituted the *Quinquatria Minervae*, with contests in poetry and rhetoric. He used to preside at the quinquennial festival of Jupiter Capitolinus, at which both poets and prose writers recited their productions, the most successful being decorated with golden crowns. Quintilian enjoyed under Domitian the same imperial patronage and favour that had been extended to him in the previous reigns of Vespasian and Titus. It is difficult to believe, therefore, that the new emperor's accession to the throne was the signal for a youthful literary aspirant like Tacitus at once to close his lips in silence. Whether it was published immediately, or shown at first only to a few intimate friends, we seem to be almost forced, by the conditions of the problem, to infer that the *Dialogue* was written about the year 84–85. Such a theory gains, in the first place, a sufficient interval between the date of composition and the historic frame-work, while, on the other hand, it allows a sufficient length of time for the development of the style of Tacitus as we afterwards know it. If the *Dialogue* was published at once, it is just possible that the long silence which Tacitus maintained during the reign of Domitian may have been

partly due to some expression of disapproval that had been conveyed to him. The tone of Maternus's reference to some of the court favourites (13. 10) may very well have been a ground of offence. Eprius Marcellus was, indeed, dead and gone, and cannot have held a high place in the emperor's memories of the past: Domitian may not have loved his father, but it is impossible that he can have had any liking for conspirators [1]. Vibius Crispus, on the other hand, continued to flourish at the imperial court till his death at an advanced old age, in the year A. D. 93. But even under Titus such persons as Crispus, who worked their way to power by the methods of the *delator*, had begun to be in less request (Suet. *Tit.* 8). It is just as likely that any displeasure which the emperor may have expressed was occasioned by the general complexion of the work as by any particular utterance. And after all such displeasure cannot have been very deeply felt. The writer had not been guilty of any disparaging allusions to Domitian himself or to the circumstances of his reign, and his political theories must have been shared by many in the Rome of that day. Without some reference to them, and some discussion of their merits, the schools of rhetoric, in which he had been trained, would have failed for want of material.

While admitting that there is nothing improbable in the theory that the author may have received some indication of imperial displeasure [2], I cannot agree with Wolff in identifying Tacitus with the unknown writer referred to by Quintilian in his enumeration of the historians of Rome (x. 1, 104). Such a work as the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* cannot have given Tacitus any claim to a place in that catalogue, and we do not know what progress he had made with the preliminary task of collecting material for his historical writings by the time when Quintilian published the *Institutio* (about 95 A.D.), in which the first chapter of the Tenth Book is incorporated probably as an abstract of the substance of much previous teaching. We shall find that it is highly probable that it was the influence of Quintilian which directed Tacitus, along with Fabius Justus and others, to the investigation of such problems as that set forth in the *Dialogue*, for the treatment of which their youthful intellects might otherwise have been immature. But Quintilian was worldly enough to know when to assume a courtly tone [3], and he would hardly have pronounced the eulogy referred to, if its unknown subject had incurred the emperor's marked displeasure.

[1] See p. xv, note.

[2] There is a personal touch about the phrases used in the Introduction to the *Histories*, which seems to give this theory an additional appearance of probability: '*dignitatem nostram . . . a Domitiano longius provectam* non abnuerim,' and again '*rara temporum felicitate* ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.'

[3] See Introd. to Book X, p. xi.

With the theory that the *Dialogue* was written by Tacitus when about thirty years of age, and that the conversation at which he professes to have been present took place some ten years previously, the internal evidence offered by the treatise harmonizes very well. We shall find that the style is as Ciceronian as was possible for a writer living towards the end of the first century: a natural phenomenon in the case of one who had begun his career as an orator[1], and who was embodying in this treatsie the fruits of his early rhetorical and literary studies. The later style of Tacitus is very different, but it would have been out of place in such a work as this, even if we could suppose that he had already developed it at the time when the *Dialogue* appears to have been written. Then he no doubt shared in that reaction against Seneca of which Quintilian made himself the chief exponent,—some of the features of the philosopher's style and mode of thought being exemplified in the person of Aper, for criticism by others with whom Tacitus had more literary and personal sympathy: afterwards the bitter experience of public affairs at Rome and the iron pressure of a cruel despotism led him to adopt, in dealing with altogether different subject matter, the concentrated vigour of the terse, pithy, and pointed style for which his name now stands as a synonym. Those who question his authorship of the *Dialogue*, on the ground of difference of style, base their case on reasons which would lead them also, as Mr. Simcox says, to 'doubt the genuineness of Mr. Carlyle's early essays in the *Edinburgh Review* if he had not collected them himself.' While Cicero is undoubtedly Tacitus's model in the *Dialogue*, the treatise contains clear traces of the writer's own individuality, besides unmistakeable coincidences, as regards words and phrases, with the usage of the historical books[2]. There is a considerable correspondence also between the criticisms pronounced on Roman orators and others in the *Dialogue*, and what Tacitus says about the same individuals elsewhere: this will be brought out in the notes (e.g. on 5. 32)[3]. The eulogy of republican eloquence and of the orators of old, in ch. 36, may be compared with the speech put into the mouth of C. Silius when advocating the enforcement of the *lex Cincia* (*Ann.* xi. 6): and one of his sentences (*pulcherrimam alioquin et bonarum artium principem sordidis ministeriis foedari*) reminds the reader of another famous passage in the *Dialogue* (32. 18) *ut quae olim omnium*

[1] See Pliny, Epp. ii. 1, 6; 11, 17; iv. 13, 10.

[2] See next page: also xlvii sq.

[3] Compare the references to Cassius Severus, 26. 16 with Ann. i. 72, 13; for Caesar cp. 21. 20 and Ann. xiii. 3; for Pomponius Secundus, 13. 9 and Ann. xii. 28, v. 8; for Vipstanus Messalla, 15. 4 and Hist. iv. 42; for Eprius Marcellus, 5. 30 and Hist. iv. 6, Ann. xvi. 22 ad fin. and ibid. 29.

artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat nunc . . . quasi una ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur. The habit of ethical reflection and shrewd psychological observation which manifests itself repeatedly in the historical books is already at work in the *Dialogue*: 8. 27 *divitiae et opes, quas facilius invenies qui vituperet quam qui fastidiat;* 13. 4 *adligati omni adulatione, nec imperantibus unquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi;* 18. 15 *vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse;* 23. 16 *prope abest ab infirmitate in quo sola sanitas laudatur;* 37 ad fin. *in ore hominum . . . quorum ea natura est ut secura vellicent;* 40. 5 *cum . . . ad incessendos principes viros, ut est natura invidiae, populi quoque ut histriones auribus uterentur.* Such an expression as *ut est natura invidiae,* though it may of course be paralleled from other writers, has a sort of family likeness to *quae natura pavoris est, Hist.* iii. 84, 20; *cupidine ingenii humani libentius obscura credendi, ib.* i. 22, 16; *ut ferme acerrima proximorum odia sunt, ib.* iv. 70, 12, and many other phrases familiar to students of Tacitus. The closing deliverance of Maternus, ch. 41 ad fin. *nunc, quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnam famam et magnam quietem, bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur* reminds the reader of the famous utterance in the *Agricola* (42, 18) *sciant quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis escendere quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.* The sentiment of acquiescence in the necessity for the rule of a single man, which finds expression in this closing speech, is another element in the identification: the whole political tone[1] is quite consistent with that which we know was adopted by Tacitus. Again, that feeling of regret for the past which seems to have entered into the very composition of the historian's genius is exemplified in the poet-pleader's first speech (11–13), with its beautiful picture of a golden age (cp. *Ann.* iii. 26). But it is in the sphere of moral sentiment that the resemblance is most pronounced. Messalla's lament over the *oblivio moris antiqui* (28. 6) is fitly put into his mouth by the writer who made even his *Germania* an opportunity for introducing weighty reflections on the moral decadence of Rome. Here Messalla speaks for Tacitus,—the Tacitus whom we know from his other works. When the speaker bewails the general effacement of the 'good old ways,' the shamelessness of the present day (29. 7), the decay of careful moral training at home (29. 2), he is uttering the sentiments of the writer

[1] See p. xxxix.

who in the *Agricola* congratulates his hero on the loving care of a pure and prudent mother (4, 7), and who in the *Germania* points the contrast between savage virtue and civilized corruption in the well-known words *nemo illic vitia ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur* . . . *plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges* (19 ad fin.).

II.

Substance and Scheme of the Dialogue.

We may now endeavour to obtain an idea of the contents of the *Dialogue*, though the attempt to analyze its substance must necessarily anticipate some of the problems which will require to be dealt with subsequently.

The treatise may be taken as consisting of three main parts, to the first of which is prefixed an introduction (chs. 1–4) setting forth the circumstances in which the conversation narrated is said to have taken place, while the third is finished off with a concluding chapter (42) describing the breaking up of the company.

The first part of the dialogue proper extends from ch. 5 to ch. 13, and contains two speeches, one by Aper, the other by Maternus.

The second part begins with the entrance of a new member of the company, Messalla (ch. 14), and again contains two speeches, one by Aper, the other by Messalla. It ends with an interruption by Maternus in ch. 27.

The third (chs. 28–41) is the most important section, as dealing with the real subject of the treatise. It contains the great *lacuna*, the existence of which (and the hypothesis of another) has given rise to a great difficulty in regard to the distribution of the speakers' parts. Messalla is the main disputant from ch. 28 up to the point at which his discourse is lost, at the end of ch. 35. At ch. 36 another speaker begins, though the first part of what he says is also lost. There is nothing in the external form of the text to show that he is not Maternus (as would naturally be supposed from the words *Finierat Maternus*, ch. 42), or that the speech from ch. 36 to ch. 41 is not a continuous whole. But a nearer consideration of the general scheme of the

treatise will reveal the difficulties which attach to this, and, indeed, to any other theory.

It is important to note that, though it is not directly treated till the beginning of the third part, the real subject of the *Dialogue* is clearly and distinctly stated in the very opening sentence. It is the decadence and dethronement of eloquence. The causes of this phenomenon had formed the theme of frequent discussion between the writer and his friend, Justus Fabius: *saepe ex me requiris, Iuste Fabi, cur, cum priora saecula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis gloriaque floruerint, nostra potissimum aetas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat.* The writer is conscious of the greatness of the subject, and of his own inability to do justice to it; but he professes to be in a position to deal with it by simply rehearsing, exactly as it occurred, a conversation to which he had been privileged to listen when a very young man. He was then a student at the bar, and had attached himself, as was the manner of such students, to two of the most famous pleaders of the day, Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus. In company with them, he went to call on the poet-pleader, Curiatius Maternus, whose recitation of his tragedy *Cato* on the previous day, and his avowed preference of poetry over oratory, form the subject of some introductory dialogue. Referring to the offence that was alleged to have been taken at some of the sentiments expressed in the *Cato*, Secundus asks Maternus if he intends to revise and alter his drama in any way; to which Maternus replies, in the most outspoken manner, that it will be published exactly as it was read, and that he has on hand another tragedy, the *Thyestes*, which will follow his *Cato* and supply any omissions. On this Aper makes a somewhat angry protest against what he considers the wrong-headedness of Maternus in dissipating his energies on such productions, when he might have his hands full of forensic work. Maternus replies that their frequent differences in regard to this matter rather take the edge off Aper's attack, but offers to leave it in the hands of Secundus, who will either forbid him to write poetry, or else, as he himself would prefer, use his influence to constrain him to leave the narrow groove of professional work at the bar and give himself wholly over to the companionship of the Muses. He appeals to Secundus as one on whose sympathies he can depend (3. 9); and Secundus confesses to a certain bias by the reference which he makes to his intimate friendship with the poet Saleius Bassus. Aper, however, retorts that it is quite different with those who are poets and nothing else, and proceeds to impeach Maternus for his neglect of the art of oratory.

Aper's speech consists of a eulogy of *oratoria eloquentia* in respect of its

serviceableness (*utilitas*), the pleasure which it confers (*voluptas*), and the prestige (*dignitas: fama, laus*) which it wins for the orator (chs. 5–8), with a corresponding depreciation of poetry as being altogether barren and unprofitable in all these respects (chs. 9, 10). Aper is the realist, the practical man of the *Dialogue*, whose formula in estimating the worth of poetry is the familiar *Cui bono?* (9. 5). In the hour of need, it is to the pleader, he says, that even poets must have recourse. Saleius Bassus has to beg people to be good enough to come and hear him give a reading of what he has written with so much expenditure of time and trouble; and even this costs him money. Eprius Marcellus, on the other hand, and Vibius Crispus hold a glorious place. Their friendship is a real boon to the emperor, as bringing him something which it passes the power even of an emperor to give: while Bassus has to be thankful if princely favour should enrich him, as it lately did, with a gift of money that only serves to bring his dependence on his patron into greater relief. Yet Aper is not without an appreciation of poetry, in its proper place. His quarrel is not with poetry, but with Maternus's preference for poetry: *tecum mihi, Materne, res est quod, cum natura te in ipsam arcem eloquentiae ferat, errare mavis et summa adepturus in levioribus subsistis . . . nunc te ab auditoriis et theatris in forum et ad causas et ad vera proelia voco* (ch. 10). In concluding his impeachment, Aper points out that poets of Maternus's temperament do not even enjoy the advantage of quiet security and freedom from offence; more will be forgiven to the pleader who is outspoken on behalf of a living friend and client than to a poet who goes out of his way to extol the virtues of a dead Cato.

The short reply of Maternus (chs. 11–13) forms one of the most interesting portions of the book. The personal contrast between him and Aper is crystallized in two phrases which occur at the opening of the eleventh chapter: Aper had spoken *acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore*, Maternus is *remissus et subridens*. To this picture both characters remain true throughout the piece. In glowing language, 'fitter for a poet than for an orator,' Maternus eulogizes the poet's life as the ideal to which he intends henceforward to devote himself. Conscious of his own blamelessness, he has no fear that he will ever be called upon to exert his oratorical powers except in the defence of others (*pro alterius discrimine*). It is the charm of the poet's life that has captivated him: 'mid the quiet of grove and glade will he live, in the hallowed haunts of song, far from the 'madding crowd' of clients and suitors and morning-callers. And the poet is as famous, he contends, as the orator: Homer does not bow before Demosthenes, and Cicero meets with more detraction,

nowadays than Vergil. In contemporary life, a Secundus Pomponius may hold his own with a Domitius Aper. As for Crispus and Marcellus, he envies them not: freedmen are often as powerful as they, and they have to pay the penalty of their position: *nec imperantibus unquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi.*

Maternus concludes in a sort of ecstasy of inspiration (*concitatus et velut instinctus*), and at this point (ch. 14) the company is re-inforced by the entrance of Vipstanus Messalla. He apologizes for his intrusion; but, on being reassured by Secundus, expresses his gratification at finding his friends interested in such discussions as that on which they had just been engaged. Secundus he congratulates on his literary sympathies, and Aper, more ironically, on his adherence to the topics of the schools, and his exaltation of the methods and exercises of the new rhetoric over the wider culture of the orators of old. This brings us to the real subject of the treatise, the decadence of oratory, which Messalla says he often tries to explain to himself, and cannot believe that Aper means seriously to deny. The two speeches of which the next part consists (16–27), those of Aper and Messalla, turn on the comparative merits of Ciceronian and contemporary eloquence.

Aper begins with a protest (16, 17) against the use of the term *antiqui.* He refuses to admit that the orators of the late republic and the early empire (Cicero, Caesar, Caelius, Calvus, Brutus, Asinius, Messalla) are ancients at all. Both *novi* and *antiqui* may be said to fall within the limits of a single life: in Britain he had himself seen an old man who had fought against Caesar, and so might conceivably have heard Cicero. The classical period, in fact, is not yet over. There is no essential difference between 'new' and 'old[1],' except in the minds of those who habitually disparage the present as compared with the past: *vitio malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio.* Eloquence, like everything else, passes through stages of development; it is not tied down to one fashion of feature: *mutantur cum temporibus formae quoque et genera dicendi.* Contemporary tendencies may be justified by reference to an improved standard of taste and a developed culture. It was not from lack of ability or ignorance that Cassius Severus, with whom the decline is said to have begun, adopted his peculiar style: he set himself deliberately (*iudicio et intellectu*) to effect a change that was called for by an age which had now grown weary of the old dulness and want of polish (*tristem et impexam antiquitatem*). The long and wearisome

[1] Cp. Hor. Epist. ii. 1, 36 sqq.:

Scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter
Perfectos veteresque referri debet an inter
Viles atque novos. Excludat iurgia finis.

compositions of former days, with their intricate arrangement and technical divisions—the 'book-speeches' made to order according to the precepts of Hermagoras and Apollodorus—must give place to the animation and refinement (*laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis*) that have now become indispensable: *novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus opus est per quae orator fastidium aurium effugiat.* Finishing with a short review of the *antiqui* (21–23), Aper contends that the Ciceronian age is really overrated: Calvus, Caelius, Caesar, Brutus, Asinius Pollio, Messalla, Corvinus, and Cicero himself, are weighed in the balance and found wanting. In one case the diction is slovenly (*sordes verborum*), and the rhythm defective (*hians compositio*): in others there is a want of the 'buoyancy and polish' that mark present-day eloquence (*laetitiam nitoremque nostrorum temporum*). When those who confine their admiration to the past praise its speakers for their 'sound, pure style,' they only confess that these speakers were wanting in vigour: *parum est aegrum non esse, fortem et laetum et alacrem volo: prope abest ab infirmitate in quo sola sanitas laudatur.*

When Aper has finished, Maternus (while complimenting him on his spirited and ingenious defence of his own age) calls on Messalla to fulfil his promise to set forth the causes of a decline which he himself regards as an established fact. Messalla's speech (25–27) consists of a vigorous vindication of the *antiqui* from Aper's accusations, and an attack on the 'curling-tongs and jingle-jingle' (*calamistros et tinnitus*) of such later speakers as Maecenas and Gallio, with a general impeachment of his own times as degenerate and effeminate. He is prepared to cite examples from the past, and match them against any which Aper may put forward; but Maternus again interrupts, and recalls the speaker to the original theme. It is the explanation of the phenomenon, he says, that they wish to have from him, not a mere statement of fact. Messalla then proceeds (ch. 28) to unfold the causes of the decline of eloquence from two points of view, taking first the methods of early nurture and theoretical training which obtained in former days, and contrasting them with the laxity and indifference of his own time (28–32), and then, after a few remarks from Maternus, comparing also the practical exercises of the *antiqui* with those of the *novi* (33–35).

It is in this part of the treatise that the author of the *Dialogue* first begins to discuss directly the answer to the question announced in the opening sentence. That Messalla is meant to appear as a 'laudator temporis acti' is obvious from the fact that he leads off by at once attributing the decline, not only of eloquence, but of the other arts as well to *desidia iuventutis et neglegentia parentum et inscitia praecipientium et oblivio*

moris antiqui. In former days, he says, children were brought up by their own mothers, who exercised a watchful care that was afterwards fruitful in results: *suus cuique filius . . . non in cella emptae nutricis, sed in gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis.* But now they are handed over to Greek nurses and pedagogues, whose worthless characters are speedily reflected in the minds of their charges. Moral supervision on the part of parents is a thing of the past: indeed their influence is rather the other way. Next Messalla complains that a narrow training in rhetoric has been substituted for that wide philosophical culture which was the strength of the speakers of bye-gone days. Seeing that the orator is one who must be able to speak fitly and persuasively on any and every topic, he ought to receive the broadest possible education, including law and history, philosophy and science. The neglect of what made Cicero great is, in Messalla's judgment, the first and foremost reason of the decay of eloquence: *ergo hanc primam et praecipuam causam arbitror cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus.* There are others, but these he will leave his friends to explain. Maternus, however (ch. 33), suggests that the contrast he has laid down between the ignorant apathy of his own day and the enthusiastic and fruitful application of the ancients (*differentiam nostrae desidiae et inscitiae adversus acerrima et fecundissima eorum studia*) ought to be followed up by a comparison of the practical exercises (*exercitationes*) formerly engaged in by aspirants to oratorical fame with those to which they are confined and limited now. What should be the character of the training which is meant to serve as a practical preparation for the exercise of the barrister's profession? This leads Messalla to paint a vivid picture (34) of the Roman youth of former days, who after the most careful home-training, and instruction in all the branches of a liberal education (*imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis*) was introduced by his father or some other relative to one of the most eminent orators and statesmen of the day, under whose immediate auspices he speedily acquired familiarity with the actual practice of his profession. He learned his craft under a master's eye, studying it, not in any cloistered retreat, but in the open light of day, and face to face with critical situations (*in media luce atque inter ipsa discrimina*). It was on the battle-field, in fact, that he received lessons in the art of war (*pugnare in proelio discebat*). What a contrast between the great opportunities thus afforded of drinking at the well of eloquence pure and undefiled, gauging the popular taste, and gaining experience of real issues,—and the narrowing influences of the school of rhetoric, with its unedifying companionship, its artificial methods, its stock subjects for empty

declamation[1]! No sufficient preparation can be provided there for the concrete issues of actual experience. . . .

Here Messalla's speech breaks off abruptly. The rest of it is lost in a lacuna which the indications of the manuscripts enable us to infer[2] must have originally contained about one-ninth part of the whole treatise. The next speaker begins in the middle of a sentence, as Messalla had left off. His identity will be discussed below, as well as the various theories put forward by editors and critics as to the distribution of parts in this last section of the *Dialogue*[3]: meanwhile the speech may be treated as forming (after the lost introduction) a continuous whole (chs. 36–41).

Its main purpose is to emphasize the fact that the conditions of the political constitution of the old free-state were more favourable for the growth and development of eloquence: though it does not conclude without a reference to the compensating advantages which are secured by a more stable form of government. In the first place, eloquence was a much larger factor then than it is now: like fire, it needs fuel to feed it, and in those troublous times (*illa perturbatione ac licentia*) there was fuel in abundance. This was the speaker's opportunity: a career was open to him so long as power rested with the fickle populace, whose judgment he could sway by his eloquence. We see now how distracting it all was to the country; but what else could have provided the orator with the field he needs? Where else was he to look for such rich rewards? Eloquence was, in fact, a necessary and indispensable passport to public life. No one could get on without it. And the sphere of oratory was far greater and more important then than now. Bribery at elections, the pillaging of provinces, the butchery of fellow-citizens—such

[1] The detailed contrast made in this passage (35 ad fin.) should be specially noted. In regard to the place of instruction, the forum has been supplanted by the schools of rhetoric. Instead of the *exempla veterum* the learner has no model now save the performances of his fellow-students. And for the daily practice of the great law-courts are now substituted the barren and unreal *exercitationes* of the technical school. These are referred to under their two main heads, *suasoriae* and *controversiae*. The former consisted of arguments for or against coming to some resolution, and were directed mainly to the cultivation of the imaginative faculty. Persons and situations were chosen from legend or history, and, with some assistance from the teacher in the arrangement of material, the student of rhetoric had to put himself in the position, for example, of Agamemnon, debating whether he ought to slay Iphigenia. The *controversiae* were more difficult, and involved a greater amount of concrete legal argument. Their subject matter was either altogether fictitious (cp. *quam incredibiliter compositae*, 35. 16), or was made to depend somehow or other on a historical occurrence or a question of present-day interest. Thus criminal cases were often taken, the students appearing both for the prosecution and the defence. See notes *ad loc.*, and cp. Quint. x. 1, 71; also Bursian's edition of Annaeus Seneca.

[2] See pp. lxxxi–lxxxii.

[3] See pp. xxxviii sq.

incidents as these, however regrettable in themselves, were far more inspiring than the routine practice of police-courts and petty-sessions. Political and social disturbance is the best stimulant for oratory. Every one knows that peace is to be preferred to war; but it is war that brings out the soldier. So it is with eloquence (chs. 37, 38).

Again, the forms of judicial procedure and the practice of the law-courts were more conducive to good speaking in former days. Then a pleader could take as much time as he liked, and there was a very wide freedom of adjournment. And the centumviral courts,—the great sphere of forensic oratory now,—were formerly of little account: they were eclipsed by the brilliant surroundings of other tribunals (*splendore aliorum iudiciorum obruebantur*). Morever, the habit of speaking in the *paenula*, and in chambers or offices, is not favourable to oratorical animation. The stimulus of an audience is wanting, and the incitement of applause: things are not now as they were in the days when the forum was crowded with an interested assemblage, when deputations came up from the country-towns to show their interest in a case,—*cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid iudicaretur.* And in former times the frequent public meetings, and the notoriety to be gained by the impeachment of distinguished individuals, supplied a great stimulus. Again must the truth be stated: eloquence thrives on disorder. *Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probitate et modestia gaudeat, sed est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alumna licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocabant, comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio, sine veritate, contumax, temeraria, adrogans, quae in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur.* At Athens, where power lay in the hands of the multitude, orators were numerous; at Rome, in earlier days, there was greater oratorical vigour, but the country had a heavy price to pay in the attempted revolution of the Gracchi and in the death of Cicero (chs. 39, 40).

From this point of view, the surviving traces of the old forum are only a proof of a society that falls short of ideal perfection. In the ideal state, free from all taint of wrong-doing, the orator will be as superfluous as the physician among those that are not sick. *Minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos.* The transference of power from the popular assembly to the emperor (*sapientissimus et unus*), with all the consequent changes, has contracted the sphere of eloquence. Circumstances alter cases. If you, my friends (the speaker concludes), had lived under the republic, and if the old orators had changed places with you, you could not have failed to achieve the highest oratorical renown, while they would not have been

found wanting in the moderation and self-restraint that are called for under existing conditions. It is here that we must look for the reconciliation of opposing views. Great oratorical fame is inconsistent now with the settled calm which pervades the state: let us be thankful for the latter without disparaging the conditions under which the former was attainable: *nunc quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnam famam et magnam quietem, bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur* (ch. 41).

Messalla would have liked to state some points in reply (he was a more thorough-going champion of the old order), and to enlarge on others. Maternus promises him an opportunity. For the present, he bids Aper farewell, threatening that he will tell the poets about him, while Messalla will stir up the lovers of the past. Aper retorts that he will carry his complaint about them to the rhetoricians of the schools. And so they part, in great good-humour.

III.

The Interlocutors and their Parts.

The unity of the *Dialogue* has been the subject of much discussion. No two editors are altogether agreed about its scheme or plan, and even its main motive has been called in question. We cannot pretend to determine now the extent to which the treatise embodies a conversation which may have actually occurred—how far it has a historical foundation, and how far it is the product of the writer's imagination. There can be no doubt, however, that it rests on a certain basis of fact. The *dramatis personae* are all historical personages; and even though they may all have been dead at the time when Tacitus wrote, he would not have been likely to invent all the circumstances of the meeting at which they are represented as having interchanged views with one another. But we cannot meet the charges that have been made against the construction of the treatise, against its unity of plan and purpose, by taking refuge in the argument that it is simply a narrative, as accurate as the writer's recollection could make it, of a conversation which actually took place, and which he reports exactly as it occurred. In that case, no greater unity could

be looked for than might belong to any conversation among friends who make a more or less casual meeting the opportunity of indulging in a somewhat formal debate on a given subject. In spite, however, of the disclaimer of original treatment which is made in the introductory chapter (*isdem numeris isdemque rationibus*), no one will be found to contend that the writer is merely reporting, so far as he could recall them to memory, the *ipsissima verba* of the several speakers. The main lines were no doubt laid down for him: he adheres to the order of debate (*servato ordine disputationis*), and the sentiments expressed by the various individuals are evidently in accord with the views which they may have put forward on the occasion referred to, or at least with those which they were known to have entertained. But the writer is more than a mere reporter: he is a constructive artist who, with one main purpose in view, must have set himself to weld together in a harmonious whole the various materials on which he had elected to work.

Such defects, or rather difficulties, of plan and construction as have been charged against the treatise, are obviously attributable to the incomplete and mutilated condition in which it has come down to us. As to its main motive and purpose, there can be no reasonable doubt. It is an attempt to discover and set forth the reasons why eloquence no longer flourishes at Rome as it did in the days of Cicero. Some have thought that the proper subject of the *Dialogue* is the comparative worth of poetry and eloquence, and the question which of the two branches a man of genius and culture ought, in existing political circumstances, to devote himself to. But this is the subject merely of the introductory part of the piece (chs. 1–14), which serves not only as the 'setting' of the whole, but also as a preparation for the note which is sounded in the closing chapters. The causes of the decline of eloquence are not, indeed, directly dealt with till the twenty-eighth chapter: but the part immediately preceding (chs. 15–27), in which Aper and Messalla debate the comparative merits of 'ancient' and 'modern' eloquence, is necessary to the composition of the whole and quite in place as leading up to the main subject of the treatise. In spite of the aberrations of some editors, nothing can be plainer than the fact that it is the reason of the decay of oratory that is the chief topic of discussion[1]. That was a phenomenon which must

[1] See not only the opening sentence of the first chapter, *Saepe ex me requiris*, &c. (with which cp. *eandam hanc quaestionem*, l. 10), but also 15. 10 *Ac velim impetratum ab aliquo vestrum ut* causas *huius infinitae differentiae scrutetur ac reddat;* 24. 11 *exprome nobis non laudationem antiquorum . . . sed* causas *cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus;* 27. 2 *neque enim hoc colligi desideramus, disertiores esse antiquos . . . sed* causas *exquirimus;* 32. 22 *ergo hanc primam et praecipuam* causam *arbitror cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus.*

have forced itself on the notice of all interested observers, as of great moment not only in itself, but also in relation to the causes which had brought it about. In the new condition of things introduced by the establishment of the empire, eloquence had little room left it for exercise and development. Its sphere had become narrowed and confined. The forum was no longer the political centre of gravity. Debarred from questions of importance, such as had afforded free scope for the oratory of former days, the art of rhetoric now hid her diminished head in the inferior law-courts, and in the unreal atmosphere of the schools of declamation. Empty superficiality and mechanical routine usurped the place of the power that had formerly swayed the hearts of men: *ut quae olim omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine apparatu, sine honore, paene dixerim sine ingenuitate, quasi una ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur* (32. 19). No discussion of the causes of this decline could fail to take note of the change in the public taste, of the altered conditions of education at Rome, of the new political circumstances: and these are some of the topics treated in the *Dialogue*.

As to the construction and plan of the work, the main difficulty hinges on the great *lacuna* which occurs at the close of the thirty-fifth chapter, and the distribution of parts in what follows. This must affect our estimate of the part played in the debate (1) by Secundus, and (2) by Maternus. There is less doubt about Messalla, and none at all about Aper. Aper's attitude may be plainly enough inferred from the account already given of the contents of the treatise. He is a realist and a utilitarian[1], who has made his way by hard work at the bar, and who knows both the value of the position he has achieved and the best methods of securing it[2]. He speaks with the strong professional feeling of a man

[1] *Nam si ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra derigenda sunt*, 5. 18: cp. Quint. x. 7, 17.

[2] Attention has been called to the resemblance between Aper in the *Dialogue* and Antonius in the *De Oratore* of Cicero, especially in respect of their attitude towards culture: cp. *probabiliorem hoc populo orationem fore censebat suam si omnino didicisse numquam putaretur* (de Or. ii. § 4) with *Aper omni eruditione imbutus contemnebat potius literas quam nesciebat, tamquam maiorem industriae et laboris gloriam habiturus si ingenium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti videretur* (Dial. 2. 14). Aper 'believed that he would enhance the fame of his painstaking application if people thought that his genius derived no support from any extraneous accomplishments.' The passage is not free from difficulty, and some have asked whether Aper would not have more naturally desired to enhance his reputation for natural ability rather than for 'hard work.' But there was no need for that: even his detractors acknowledged his natural endowments (2. 11: cp. de Or. ii. § 1, Or. § 143, of Antonius). They thought that he possessed great natural ability, but was deficient in training and culture. Tacitus, his pupil, says he was not: on the contrary, he was *omni eruditione imbutus*. But at the same time he represented, as a speaker, the tendencies of the new rhetoric (14. 21). While professing a sympathetic feeling for literature (10. 13), he knew that, in practice, the

who is conscious of what he owes to his art. He had come up to Rome from a Gaulish province as a *novus homo*, and had risen by the force of his eloquence to high office. The approval of his audience, the gratitude of clients, the favour of the great, are to him the things chiefly worth striving for: why a man who could command all these should elect to be a poet rather than an orator passes his comprehension. As a stylist, he is the representative of the tendencies of which Quintilian expresses his disapproval. There is a certain striving after effect, which seems to indicate an exaltation of form over substance; and in the 'nominis controversia' with which he introduces his disparagement of the 'antiqui' (16, 17) we recognize the sophistic habit of debate, by which he might have stolen a march upon a more unwary audience. Aper is all for piquancy and point: *colores sententiarum, lumina orationis, nitor et cultus descriptionum*,—these were evidently as much to him as they were to Seneca himself. Even Cicero he appraises by this standard, and finds him just tolerable. It was in his more mature years that Cicero, according to Aper, began to discover what true style really was: *locos quoque laetiores attemptavit et quasdam sententias invenit, utique in iis orationibus quas senior iam et iuxta finem vitae composuit, id est, postquam usuque et experimentis didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset*, 22. 7. His earlier speeches are not free from the faults of a former age: he is slow and tedious, wanting in passion, and destitute of what Aper and his friends valued most, showy passages, epigrams, and 'quotable bits': *pauci sensus apte et cum quodam lumine terminantur: nihil excerpere, nihil referre possis, et velut in rudi artificio firmus sane paries et duraturus sed non satis expolitus et splendens*, l. c. His own position he defines in a well-known sentence which occurs in the same context: *ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem ac lautum patrem familiae, non eo tantum volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet, non ea solum instrui supellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed esse in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmas, ut sumere in manus et aspicere saepius libeat.* It is somewhat surprising that so eminent a representative of contemporary tendencies as Aper evidently was should nowhere be even alluded to by Quintilian. We may infer that, if he was still alive when Tacitus wrote, he had at least withdrawn from practice at the bar (cp. *tum . . . contemnebat . . . nesciebat*, ch. 2), and that he died without leaving behind him anything fit to enter into the

prevailing taste no longer required an orator to give proof of possessing that wide culture that was the boast of the Ciceronian era (32. 10: cp. 19 sqq.). His main interest was in the formal and technical aspect of his art. That was what was prized by the adherents of the new school, and it was with the idea of gaining increased prestige in regard to it that he affected to look down on learning and culture (e. g. philosophy 31. 25) as 'extraneous accomplishments.'

great rhetorician's review of literature. The probability is that, like Secundus, he did not live to attain to the maturity of his powers.

Aper's chief opponent is Vipstanus Messalla, who is known to us from the *Histories* as an energetic supporter of Vespasian against Vitellius[1]. Messalla is as enthusiastic for the past as Aper is for the present. He has no sympathy with the emptiness and unreality of the education which was provided in his day, and his instincts as a true-born Roman (the only one, by the way, of all the disputants) lead him to dwell fondly on the great orators of the past and the causes to which they owed their greatness. To him they realize, far more than any contemporary speaker, the ideal of what an orator ought to be. He saw that the modern specialization of the *studium*, and its absorption in the technicalities and trivialities of the schools of rhetoric rendered impossible the acquisition of that broad culture and those wide interests which had been the glory of Cicero and his contemporaries. It is this that leads him to declaim against the views which Aper represents with an intensity of conviction and a vigour of language for which he feels impelled half playfully to apologize (32 ad fin.). He refers contemptuously to the 'so-called rhetoricians' (*expetuntur quos rhetoras vocant*, 30. 5) whose premature activity displaced from the education of the Roman youth broader and more valuable studies, such as history and philosophy, and robbed it of the sound foundation on which it had formerly rested. His speech is unfortunately lost just as he is beginning to emphasize the existing divorce of the schools from practical life by picturing the discomfiture of the aspirant to oratorical renown when he is first transferred from the technicalities of the lecture-room to the realities of the forum. Though a 'laudator temporis acti' Messalla was himself no recluse, but a man of action. He had taken an active part in the campaign against Vitellius, and Tacitus was indebted to him for an account of some of its incidents (*Hist.* iii. 25, 28). His own reputation for eloquence stood high, and Aper, in the *Dialogue*, makes a complimentary reference to the occasion when he had gained great fame at Rome by pleading the cause of his less worthy brother, Aquilius Regulus, before the Senate (ch. 15). This was in A.D. 70 (*Hist.* iv. 42). Messalla must of course have been alive four or five years later, when the dialogue is said to have taken place; but as he is not mentioned in Pliny's *Letters* (where allusions to Regulus are frequent) it has been inferred that he too died young. In fact, it may

[1] *Legioni tribunus Vipstanus Messalla praeerat, claris maioribus, egregius ipse, et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas attulisset,* Hist. iii. 9. There is a note of personal interest and association in this characterization, such as might have been expected from one who had so direct a knowledge of Messalla as the author of the Dialogue.

have been the more or less recent death of all the interlocutors that induced Tacitus to bring them together on his canvas.

Julius Secundus was a friend and contemporary of Quintilian, who refers to him more than once in complimentary terms[1]. From x. 1, 121 we gather that he died prematurely (*interceptus*), possibly about the year 80 A.D.[2] One characteristic of his style seems to have been a certain want of spontaneity: this is indicated in the allusion made in ch. 1 to the criticism passed on him by his detractors (*quamvis maligne plerique opinarentur nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem et*, &c.), as well as in Quintilian's phrase, *infinitae curae*, quoted below. In the *Dialogue*, as we have it now, he does not play the part that might have been expected of him from the prominent way in which he is introduced, along with Aper, in the second chapter. His prudent reserve and retiring disposition are shown in his question to Maternus about a 'safer' edition (*securiorem*) of that poet's 'Cato,' and in the way in which he deprecates the proposal that he should act as arbiter between Maternus and Aper (ch. 4). Some critics have held that he altogether declines this proposal, and ask where he makes his award, as there is not even a mention of him in the closing chapter. But it should not be forgotten that it is only as regards the difference between Maternus and Aper (as to the comparative worth of poetry and eloquence) that his arbitration is proposed; and, though the entrance of Messalla in ch. 14 gives a new turn to the debate, Secundus first summarizes the rival speeches, of which the introductory part consists, in an impartial deliverance, in which he shows due appreciation of the *sermo* of Aper on the one hand, and the *oratio* of Maternus on the other (14. 6). It is more difficult to decide whether a speech of Secundus may not have been lost in the great lacuna which follows ch. 35. On the whole, it appears probable that whether or not Secundus contributed a set speech, expressing his individual attitude, he at least played a larger part in the debate than would appear from the text as we have it now. Too much weight need not be attached to what Maternus says (16. 8), when he undertakes, on behalf of Secundus as well as for himself, to supply what Messalla may omit in his presentation of the question under discussion. But, *a priori*, it seems improbable that Secundus would have been so prominently introduced along with Aper in the opening chapter, if his admiring pupil had only intended to use him for a few appropriate utterances to mark the development of

[1] x. 3, 12 *aequalem meum atque a me, ut notum est, familiariter amatum, mirae facundiae virum, infinitae tamen curae;* ib. 1 § 120 *Iulio Secundo, si longior contigisset aetas, clarissimum profecto nomen oratoris apud posteros foret*, et sqq.

[2] The date suggested in my note on Quintilian x. 1, 120 (A.D. 88) is rightly held by Prof. A. S. Wilkins to be several years too late.

the piece. In regard to this point, the interpretation of ch. 1. 11 (*cum singuli diversas quidem sed probabiles causas adferrent, dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent*) is of the greatest importance. To exclude Secundus from the reference here, would be to practically limit it to Messalla and Maternus: on the strictest interpretation of *diversas causas adferre*—occurring as this phrase does after *eandem hanc quaestionem* (cp. 1. 1) *pertractantes*—Aper does not seem to come in, because it is not his province to suggest any *causae* for a decline which he does not admit[1]. Again, if the lacuna really extends over about one-ninth of the whole treatise[2], it is difficult to imagine what it can have contained except on the theory that Secundus also spoke[3]. Messalla cannot have gone on much longer. His subject had been prescribed for him by Maternus in ch. 33. 8 *quibus exercitationibus iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri confirmare et alere ingenia sua soliti sint*; and unless he elaborated the criticism of contemporary methods with which his speech breaks off, that subject may be said to have been overtaken before the lacuna occurs. On the other hand, it is argued that it is more consistent with what we know of the retiring and unwarlike[4] disposition of Secundus to conceive him as confining himself to assisting the progress of the action by appropriate interpellations: also that no reference is made to him in the closing chapter, where Maternus, Messalla, and Aper bring the discussion to a close. The theory that we actually have part of a speech by Secundus in what follows after the lacuna, will be better dealt with in connexion with Maternus.

The fourth and last of the interlocutors in the *Dialogue*, Curiatius Maternus, is the most interesting of all. The author obviously intended to put him forward as the leading personage of the piece. It is in his house that the discussion takes place. He is introduced as a well-known celebrity, who does not stand in need of even the brief characterization

[1] The passage is a well-known *crux*, and the text is corrupt. There is of course much to be said for John's view that so important a disputant as Aper cannot possibly be omitted from the *résumé* given in the words *quae a praestantissimis viris et excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter accepi*, especially in view of the appropriateness, in its application to him, of the phrase *dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent*. John thinks that *diversas causas* (in *cum singuli diversas quidem sed probabiles causas adferrent*) is meant to cover Aper's view of the case, the original idea of the 'decline' of eloquence being extended so as to include his position, which admits, not a decline, but a change (18. 8: 19 sqq.). On this interpretation *Neque enim defuit*, &c. (line 18) is added to explain the phrase *diversas causas* in line 15. But as the writer's sympathies are evidently against Aper, in spite of his appreciation of his great abilities, it is doubtful if he would have called his presentation of the question a *probabilis causa*, and the explanation given in the notes is perhaps the safer of the two.

[2] See pp. lxxxi–lxxxii.

[3] Some commentators suggest that his subject may have been the deterioration of style (*elocutio*).

[4] *Ut esset multo magis pugnax*, Quint. x. 1, 120.

which is given in the same chapter to his two visitors, Aper and Secundus. His tragedies are made the occasion of the discussion which forms the first part of the treatise; and it is certain—no matter what theory of the arrangement of parts may be adopted—that it was he who contributed the closing speech (42 *Finierat Maternus*). It is he also who guides and controls the development of the discussion, speaking in ch. 16 for Secundus as well as for himself, bringing out the real points at issue in ch. 24, recalling Messalla to it in ch. 27, and prevailing on him to continue his speech in ch. 33. As one who has been both a poet and a pleader, he is well qualified to decide between the rival attractions of the two professions. Already under Nero (11. 9) he had distinguished himself by writing a tragedy, which seems not to have been without some practical result; and another tragedy—the 'Cato'—was now the topic of general conversation at Rome. But his resolution has been taken. He intends to forsake the profession of advocate (*ac iam me deiungere a forensi labore constitui*, 11. 12) and to devote himself wholly to the pursuit of poetry. Nothing that Aper can urge will shake him from his purpose. How long he lived to give effect to it is a matter of uncertainty. A passage from Dio Cassius[1] has been quoted by many critics as proving that he lived till 91 A. D., when he was put to death by Domitian for undue freedom of speech. But Maternus was a common name in imperial times, and the reference may be to another person altogether. If he had been the Maternus of the *Dialogue*, it is unlikely that he would have been designated a 'sophist,' and as practising declamation, so long after he had resigned the profession of advocate in favour of poetry. The argument, however, has served to increase the difficulty as to Maternus's personality, and to complicate the question of the Tacitean authorship of the treatise. It has been contended[2] that Tacitus would not have ventured, in the reign of Domitian and during the lifetime of Maternus, to attribute to the latter sentiments which seem, at times, almost to anticipate the fate that is said to have afterwards overtaken him. It is just as probable, however, that the Maternus of the *Dialogue* had died (like the other interlocutors) in the interval between A. D. 74–75 and the date at which the treatise was composed. A reference to this (and not to the fate of the other Maternus, the *σοφιστής*) may perhaps be detected in the end of ch. 13, where the speaker dwells on the thought of death with an inspired prevision which the writer may have wished to indicate had been only too well founded. And many difficulties as to the general tendency of Maternus's utterances, and consequently

[1] *Μάτερνον δὲ σοφιστήν, ὅτι κατὰ τυράννων εἶπέ τι ἀσκῶν, ἀπέκτεινε,* Dio Cass. lxvii. 12.
[2] See p. xviii.

as to the whole purpose of the *Dialogue*, are removed, or at least lessened, by the theory that Tacitus followed Cicero's example in not introducing living personages. However this may be, Maternus is undoubtedly the protagonist of the piece. It is through him that Tacitus gives expression to his own thoughts. The future historian saw that his work, too, would be done, not in the bustle and racket of the forum, but in quiet retirement. His regret for the old free-state was tempered, like that of Maternus, by a practical acquiescence in the necessity for the empire. It is his voice we seem to hear when the poet-pleader expresses his preference for Vergil's life of repose (*malo securum et quietum Vergilii secessum*, 13. 4), and when, at the end of the debate, he points out that every age has its own advantages (*nunc quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnam famam et magnam quietem, bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur*, ch. 41 ad fin.). It is, in fact, by the closing speech that the so-called 'republicanism' of Maternus is reconciled and harmonized with existing political conditions.

Other theories of this closing speech have been put forward by editors, and remain to be considered. In this edition it is attributed to Maternus, not only on the evidence of the manuscripts, but on other grounds as well. It is in it that we find the fullest expression of that spiritual sympathy between speaker and writer which was evidently Tacitus's motive in making Maternus the main personage of the piece. He is, as has been said, the protagonist, with whom the discussion begins and with whom it ends. It has not been noted by any commentator that the true explanation of the placid manner in which, in the introduction, Maternus meets the hasty criticisms which are being advanced against his 'Cato,' is to be found in his consciousness of his own position. In the first place, these criticisms are nothing but the outcome of popular gossip; *fabulae malignorum* as they are styled even by the cautious Secundus[1] (3. 4). Aper does not seem to attach much weight to his friend's alleged indiscretion; to him it is simply an 'outburst of his noble soul' (*effervescit vis pulcherrimae naturae tuae*), all the more disinterested because it was connected with the name of one so far removed from present-day controversies (*privatas et nostri saeculi controversias*) as Cato. Aper would not shrink from a similar indiscretion himself in defence of a friend: *si quando necesse sit pro periclitante amico potentiorum aures offendere, et probata sit fides et libertas excusata*, 10 ad fin. As for Maternus himself, he has no fears on his own account, no apprehension that any action will be taken against him. His innocence has hitherto

[1] Cp. 2. 2 *cum offendisse potentium animos* diceretur.

proved his best safeguard, and he has no misgivings for the future: *statum hucusque ac securitatem melius innocentia tueor quam eloquentia, nec vereor ne mihi unquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine facienda sint*, ch. 11 ad fin. His closing speech shows that he was not one of those impracticable philosophers against whom even the patient Vespasian had to act with vigour[1]. Like Tacitus, he had his regrets for the past, but he did not rebel against the present. He recognizes, with Messalla, the superiority of the eloquence of the 'antiqui' (27. 3), but he tempers Messalla's rather one-sided exaltation of the oratory of republican times by dwelling on the regrettable conditions on which it had thriven. His whole attitude is one of reconciliation. He can venture to be severe on persons of such doubtful antecedents as Crispus and Marcellus (13. 11), and he claims for himself the same freedom of speech as he would allow to others (27. 12): but he is sensible also of the advantages which settled order and good government have secured for the state (38 ad fin.), even though the introduction of the new régime had not at once involved the downfall of those who, like Crispus and Marcellus, had made themselves indispensable to former and more unworthy rulers. His frequent references to the contracted sphere in which oratory was now confined are made as an additional justification of his personal attitude. He is forsaking a profession which had become irksome to him[2] (*remotum . . . necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi*, 13. 17), and which can no longer be what it was once: *minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos*, 41. 11. There is no irony in all this, as some critics have supposed. The attitude of Maternus towards imperialism must have been common in the cultured society of the day. It was that of Tacitus himself[3]. The chief person of the *Dialogue* gives utterance to

[1] Their banishment from Rome in the year 74 A.D., about the time when the Dialogue is represented as having taken place, suggests the possibility that any danger anticipated for Maternus may have been due to a sort of nervous apprehension of the extent to which the emperor might carry his measures of retaliation. But Maternus did not sympathize with the 'intransigeant' party, any more than Tacitus himself.

[2] It is not necessary to discover in this fact a proof that Tacitus's object in writing the Dialogue was to justify his own retirement from the profession of the bar. We do not know, as a matter of fact, that he retired at the time of the composition of the treatise, i.e. when he was about thirty years of age. It is not improbable, however, that in this presentation of Maternus the author gave expression to what were really his own thoughts and aspirations on this subject, though he may not have carried them into effect at once. He was no doubt conscious, in spite of his great success as a pleader, that forensic oratory could never be again what it had been, and he must therefore have been in thorough sympathy with Maternus's statement of the reasons which had induced him to take the resolution referred to.

[3] It would have been strange if any except the most impracticable persons had failed to recognize the advantages conferred on Rome by the recent political

the thoughts that were in the mind of its author, and it is in the reconciliation, in him, of opposing tendencies, that the unity of the piece is to be sought for. There is thus an essential relationship between the first part of the treatise (chs. 1–13), which is often described as merely introductory, and the last[1]. In the former, Maternus justifies his preference for poetry by the contention that forensic oratory, even in its most perfect type, is nothing but an inferior development, due to the loss of primitive innocence, of the form in which eloquence dwelt with men in the golden age, viz. poetry: *haec eloquentiae primordia, haec penetralia; hoc primum habitu cultuque commoda mortalibus in illa casta et nullis contacta vitiis pectora influxit; sic oracula loquebantur*, 12. 6. In the latter his retirement from the profession of an advocate is explained by reference to the narrower limits within which eloquence now moves, as compared with the days of old. In both his speeches, Maternus sighs for quiet retirement: compare such expressions as *inquieta et anxia oratorum vita*, with its *certamina* and *pericula*, and the *insanum et lubricum forum*, in the first, with the repeated statement in the second, *non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probitate et modestia gaudeat*.

settlement. Men's memories must have been full of the horrors of Nero's reign, and of the *longus et unus annus* that had seen three emperors come and go: on the other hand they could see for themselves what had been accomplished by the hard-working and conscientious 'citizen-emperor,' Vespasian. Tacitus no doubt looked back with regret on the days of the old free-state: the republican form of government was, in his view, the most favourable to freedom (Ann. vi. 42). But he knew that conditions had altogether changed, and that the monarchy had now become necessary for peace and for the maintenance of the huge fabric of the empire (cp. Hist. i. 1, 5; ii. 38; i. 16). The summary of the historian's political convictions given by Teuffel-Schwabe (§ 333, 8) may be reproduced here, as applicable to Maternus as well as to Tacitus: 'Accordingly—the republic having become impossible and the monarchy necessary—the individual must be resigned and take things and people as they are (e.g. *bonos imperatores voto expetere, qualescunque tolerare*, Hist. iv. 8: cp. 74), and attempt to steer his course through these difficult circumstances so as neither to sacrifice his honour outwardly nor expose himself to serious dangers, by finding a road midway *inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium* (Ann. iv. 20). Men who had succeeded in this, moderate liberals who reckoned with the established order, and who bridled their aspirations towards freedom (*modum et temperamentum adhibere*, Dial. 41, Ann. iv. 20; *non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabant*, Agr. xlii; *utilia honestis miscebant*, Agr. viii), are therefore fully appreciated by Tacitus: e.g. M'. Lepidus (Ann. iv. 20, vi. 27), L. Piso (Ann. vi. 10), C. Cassius (Ann. xii. 12, xiv. 43), Agricola (Agr. viii, xlii). But such men as Helvidius, Priscus (Hist. iv. 6), and Paetus Thrasea (Ann. xiv. 12), are not after his heart.'

[1] Some commentators even suppose that Maternus, in this last speech, is referring to some of the points which Aper had tried to make in their introductory discussion. Thus 36. 20 '*hi clientelis* etiam exterarum nationum *redundabant*' may be a rejoinder to what Aper had stated 3 ad fin. '*cum te* tot coloniarum et municipiorum *clientelae in forum vocent*': cp. also Maternus's disparagement of the centumviral courts, 38. 10, with Aper's reference to them in 7. 6.

It is the seeming inconsistency between Maternus as the champion of a sort of republican freedom in the first part of the *Dialogue*, and Maternus as the eulogist of the imperial government, that has given rise to the various suggestions for a different distribution of parts in the closing chapters of the treatise. Many think that Messalla, not Maternus, is the speaker who resumes in ch. 36, and still more argue for Secundus. Neither view is possible without the assumption of additional lacunae for which there is no manuscript evidence. Steiner and Weinkauff have thought that chs. 36–41 ought to be assigned to Secundus, and that the speech referred to in the words *Finierat Maternus* (ch. 42) must have been lost after the end of 41 [1]. Others, following Heumann, have invented a lacuna at 40. 6, before the words *Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur*, attributing what follows to Maternus, while what goes before is assigned either to Messalla or to Secundus.

As to Messalla, it is very improbable that, except at the close, he speaks again in the *Dialogue* after the great lacuna. In it the end of his speech must have been lost, as well as the beginning of the speech of the next interlocutor. The theory that in ch. 36 he is still continuing his description of the conditions under which the orators of former days were trained seems to be incompatible with what we know of him as an uncompromising champion of republican institutions. The speech contains too many regrets to have been made by Messalla. That he did not altogether agree with it is indicated in ch. 42. 1, where he says that there are some points in it which he would have liked to contradict. And again, the supposition that Messalla is still speaking in ch. 36 is not consistent with any division of the treatise into proportional parts.

There is more plausibility in the arguments adduced in favour of Secundus. But the theory that there is a lacuna after *faces admovebant* in 40. 6, and that all that is left of Maternus's closing speech begins with the words *Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur* must at once be rejected. In the first place there is no manuscript evidence in favour of it, and when lacunae occur in MSS. it is very seldom that they begin at the end of one sentence and stop at the commencement of another (cp. chs. 35, 36). Again, though the arrangement seems open to criticism, and the speaker repeats himself more than once, there is an obvious sequence of thought in the passage referred to, instead of any break or discontinuity; it is sufficient to quote alongside of *Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur* the similar utterance at 37. 28 *sed, ut subinde admoneo,*

[1] The appearance of a few dots at the end of ch. 41 in the *Farnesianus* (C) is no argument in favour of this assumption.

quaestionis meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus exsistit. Andresen thinks that in several passages in 40, 41 Maternus is taking up and replying to the utterances of the previous speaker; but it is much preferable to regard him as emphasizing his points by repetition[1]. And nothing is gained with regard to the alleged inconsistency of his sentiments by making Maternus only begin to speak at 40. 7: such an utterance as *est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alumna licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocabant, comes seditionum,* &c. stands as much in need of the explanation which has been given above as anything that occurs in the previous chapters, which are assigned, on the theory under discussion, to Secundus or Messalla.

The main argument in favour of assigning to Secundus the whole speech from chs. 36 to 41 is that it seems appropriate in the mouth of one who was intended to act as a sort of mediator between Messalla and Maternus. It is thought too that the reference to such a detail as the wearing of the *paenula* (39. 3) is more natural in his mouth than in that of Maternus: cp. *diligentis stili anxietatem* (l. 10), which has been taken as an indication of Secundus's consciousness of this characteristic of his own style. The historical tone of ch. 36, and the reference in 37. 7 to the literary labours of Mucianus have been thought to reveal the studious barrister, who has already made a name for himself by writing biography (16 ad fin.).

But, if this speech is given to Secundus, it is difficult to imagine that another can have fallen out after ch. 41, before the words *Finierat Maternus* in ch. 42. The discussion is fitly brought to an end in the text as we have it: another speaker could not have wound it up better than with the closing words of ch. 41 *bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur.* There is also the other obvious consideration that if Secundus is provided for in 36–40, and Maternus in a supposed lacuna after 41, it becomes increasingly difficult to conjecture what can have filled the great lacuna at the end of 35. On the explanation given above of his personal attitude, there is no real difficulty in adhering to the consistent tradition of the manuscripts and taking Maternus as the speaker of chs. 36–41 in one continuous whole. We seem to recognize his lofty style even in the first sentence: *Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur et urendo*

[1] In addition to the use of the phrase *ut subinde admoneo* in the passage just quoted, we may compare the sentence beginning *Quae singula etsi distrahebant* . . . in 36. 14 with that beginning *Quae mala sicut non accidere melius est* in 38. 18. Cp. also *Non quia tanta fuerit* &c. in 37. 27 with *Sed nec tanti rei publicae* . . . 40 ad fin.

clarescit (36. 2)[1]. In chs. 36 and 37 his main point is clearly and distinctly stated. Just as afterwards in chs. 40 and 41 the superiority of republican eloquence is fully recognized (40. 8 *magna illa et notabilis eloquentia . . . tulit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam*; 41. 22 *summa illa laus et gloria in eloquentia*: cp. 37. 3), so in these opening chapters (as also in ch. 38) the speaker sets forth clearly the disadvantages that were bound up with a state of things favourable to the production of great orators: *illa perturbatione ac licentia . . . mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus . . . turbidis et inquietis temporibus*. Nothing of this need be taken as censure; the speaker knows the difference between peace and war (37. 32), and can appreciate the former without failing to recognize that the latter is the best training-school of soldiers. But, unlike Messalla, Maternus does not believe that a return of such political conditions is either practicable or desirable. It may be impossible now to realize again the *magna et notabilis eloquentia* that was the glory of the republic, and for which she paid so high a price (36. 14; 40. 25). Things have altogether changed. Orators are of less consequence now than they used to be, and eloquence has to content herself with a contracted sphere (cp. *omissis forensium causarum angustiis*, 4. 8). But Maternus can at least console himself by utilizing the advantages of his own peaceful times, and devoting himself to the pursuits of a learned leisure (cp. 4 ad fin. *sanctiorem illam et augustiorem eloquentiam colam*). High oratorical renown and settled repose are incompatible with each other: therefore while recognizing the superiority of the eloquence which was nurtured on the disorder of former times, let every one be thankful for peace and quietness—and make the best use he can of his talents and opportunities.

IV.

STYLE AND LANGUAGE.

THE importance of a consideration of the language and style of the *Dialogue*, as bearing on the problem of its authorship, has been indicated in the introductory section. Its obvious want of resemblance to the style of the *Annals* was the first ground on which Lipsius and his

[1] Attention has also been called to his frequent use of the figure *Anaphora* (see p. lix), as well as the rhetorical question and other indications of a style pitched in a lofty key, as was that of Maternus.

followers were led to question the genuineness of the treatise. Close examination has, however, furnished many evidences on the other side. Critics are still indeed found who, like Novak, make the undoubted resemblance which can be traced between the language of the *Dialogue* and that of the *Institutio Oratoria* an argument for the theory that Quintilian must have been the author, not Tacitus. But exclusive attention to this resemblance, even though it extends in several passages to thought and substance as well as to forms of expression, is very apt to mislead, especially when it is overdone. A safer method is to compare Tacitus, not with Quintilian, but with himself. The theory of a continuous development of his style through his various writings has been worked out by Wölfflin (*Philologus*, xxv, pp. 92–134) and other scholars [1]; and numerous arguments in proof of the authorship of Tacitus may now be drawn from the very source which formerly supplied antagonistic critics with their most trusted weapons.

In the first place it must be repeated that, on the theory that the *Dialogue* was the work of the historian's youth, it seems to have been a natural and appropriate outcome of the studies in which that youth is known to have been trained. The early bent of a student in those days was generally towards rhetoric and the art of public speaking. This was the broadest avenue to public life at Rome, and Tacitus may have followed it from motives of general conformity as well as from private and personal choice. But his genius must have felt a strong affinity for the art which, in the perfection which it had attained to under the republic, stands now for us as one of the symbols of his country's greatness. We know that he gained high distinction as an orator in the earlier part of his career. The younger Pliny, who was only some six or seven years his junior, has left it on record that his friend and correspondent had already established a great reputation (*cum iam tu fama gloriaque floreres*, vii. 20, 4), when he himself was just entering public life. And even after Tacitus had retired from the profession of an advocate, his funeral eulogy of Verginius Rufus (A.D. 97) gave proof of his great gift of eloquence [2]; while his official prosecution, conjointly with Pliny, of Marius Priscus, proconsul of Africa (in 100 A.D.) evidently produced on his colleague that impression of elevation and dignity which no reader can fail to carry away from the study of the historian's works [3].

[1] See Weinkauff, pp. xc–clxx.

[2] Plin. Epp. ii. 1, 6 *Laudatus est a consule Cornelio Tacito: nam hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus.*

[3] Ibid. ii. 1, 17 *Respondit Cornelius Tacitus eloquentissime et, quod eximium orationi eius inest, σεμνῶς.* It should be noted also that the speeches which Tacitus inserts in his historical works bear the impress of his early rhetorical studies: examples are Agr. xxx (to which add the

Such defects as attached to the curriculum through which the youth of Rome was made to pass in the days of Tacitus (*Dial.* chs. 30–33) were remedied and corrected, in his case, by the appreciative study of the great models of former times, especially Cicero. Of this study the *Dialogue* bears obvious traces, and nothing will strike the reader so much, especially at first, as the studied resemblance which its style bears to that of the great orator. It was while Tacitus was full of a generous enthusiasm for Cicero and his contemporaries that he is represented as having listened to the conversation which the treatise embodies and expands; and at the date at which it is supposed to have been written his style was still under the influence of his early studies and pursuits [1]. It was, in fact, still in what may be called its first stage. In all probability, Tacitus had modelled his earliest efforts at the bar, as nearly as was possible after such an interval, on the oratory of Cicero and his great contemporaries. It was this, no doubt, that drew Pliny to him, and led him to select his friend as an example to be followed [2]. Their early association must have been partly, at least, based on a kindred sentiment of reverence for the past. Now it is a known fact that Pliny was one of Quintilian's pupils (*Epp.* ii. 14, 9; vi. 6, 3), and it is interesting to speculate on the probability that Tacitus too had come under the influence of the great rhetorician. Quintilian had returned to Rome, from Spain, in the train of Galba, and probably lost little time [3] in commencing the educational career with which his name has ever since been so closely associated. Tacitus may even have been one of his earliest pupils. Chronology seems to favour the supposition, and the numerous points of contact which exist between the two writers add to its probability. It may have been from Quintilian himself that Tacitus imbibed that antipathy to mechanical methods and the tinsel ornaments of unreal disputation which reveals itself in Messalla's speeches, as well as that belief in the superiority of Cicero which he evidently shares with the same speaker. Quintilian's mission at Rome, then and afterwards, was to recall the literature of the day from the studied affectation and empty elegance that were then held

closing apostrophe); Hist. i. 15, 29, 37, 83; ii. 76; iv. 58, 64, 73; Annals i. 42, 58; ii. 38, 71; iii. 12; iv. 34, 37, 40; vi. 8; xi. 24; xiv. 43, 53, 55; xv. 20. See Walter, de Taciti studiis rhetoricis, p. 20 sqq.

[1] One minor indication of this fact is the frequent recurrence of the formula *At hercule* (*Itaque hercule*) which is found no fewer than twelve times in the Dialogue, the MSS. of the Y family generally preferring *hercule* to *hercle*. See on 21. 8.

[2] *Equidem adulescentulus, cum iam tu fama gloriaque floreres, te sequi, tibi longo sed proximus intervallo et esse et haberi concupiscebam. Et erant multa clarissima ingenia; sed* tu mihi (ita similitudo naturae ferebat) maxime imitabilis, maxime imitandus videbaris, Plin. Epp. vii. 20, 2.

[3] See Introduction to Quintilian, Book X, p. viii, note 3.

in repute to the purity, simplicity and naturalness of republican models. He makes this plain in the course of his estimate and criticism of Seneca (x. 1, 125 sqq.), especially in these well-known words: *corruptum et omnibus vitiis fractum dicendi genus revocare ad severiora iudicia contendo.* Cicero he held forth to his pupils as the great model for imitation: *hunc igitur spectemus, hoc propositum nobis sit exemplum, ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit* (ib. § 112). It is not extravagant, therefore, to assume that Tacitus may have had the benefit of Quintilian's teaching. But whether or no he was, or had been, actually a student in his school at the time when the dialogue is understood to have taken place (74–75 A.D.), it is impossible to believe that in the interval which elapsed between that date and the composition of the treatise Tacitus in no way came under the influence of one who was gradually making himself a power at Rome. In the year 75, the historian is understood to have been only about twenty years of age, and had probably just arrived at the stage of looking forward to actual practice in the centumviral courts: we know that it was at this age that his younger contemporary Pliny began his professional work (*Epp.* v. 8, 8). For the rest, he had attached himself as an enthusiastic pupil and companion to two of the most famous counsel of the day, Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus: and his zealous attendance on these masters (see ch. 2) is described quite in the spirit of one who knew the value of the recommendation which Quintilian lays down for the aspiring advocate, *oratorem sibi aliquem, quod apud maiores fieri solebat, deligat quem sequatur, quem imitetur* (x. 5, 19). Even if his preparatory training had been completed by this time, without any assistance from Quintilian, there is still the probability that one who was evidently so well marked out for a successful career as Tacitus must have been brought in various ways into contact with the author of the *Institutio.* Apart from all opportunities of personal intercourse within the circle of a congenial literary society, Tacitus may have had recourse to the great teacher for professional help. Quintilian's pupils were not all boys. The study and practice of declamation were continued at Rome into later life. There is an ample interval in the nine or ten years following A.D. 75 for some relationship to have been established, either personal or professional or both, between two of the most interesting figures in the history of their time.

But however this may be, there can be no question of Tacitus's early appreciation of Cicero, or of the effect of this appreciation on the style of the *Dialogue.* One needs only to read a few chapters to recognize the fact that it differs as much from the artificial, overdone, and affectedly incisive style which was popular at the time as from that which Tacitus

himself subsequently developed in the *Annals*. In the historian's latest work every word is charged with almost more than its proper share of meaning, and the reader's mind is kept always on the strain. In the *Dialogue* everything is the opposite. There the style is easy, full, fluent, and continuous. There is a regular, well-balanced, periodic structure, which involves at times a certain copiousness even bordering on redundancy[1]. Only in the use of a few peculiar words and phrases, in a greater laxity of grammatical constructions, in the infusion of a certain poetical colouring, and in the free use of figures is the influence of the Silver Age at all prominent. The style of the *Dialogue*, in short, is pretty much what might have been expected *a priori* in a work composed while its author was still comparatively a young man, given his individual sympathies, his oratorical training, his admiration for the eloquence of the past, and the character of his subject. In the *Agricola* we have the first stage in the transition to the stylistic ideal which Tacitus afterwards realized in the *Annals*. There is no suspicion of redundancy: the narrative is compact and the periods characterized by a greater brevity than those of the *Dialogue*. The *Germania* falls still further away from rhetorical rotundity: there is an obvious tendency to dispense with all words that are not indispensable to the thought, and greater disjointedness in the periodic structure, such as it is, owing to a certain disregard of connecting links. But though the *Agricola* and the *Germania* were written some thirteen or fourteen years after the *Dialogue*, when Tacitus was over forty years of age, they present several features of contact with their predecessor[2]. Not to mention ordinary instances of synonyms[3] (the employment of which in the *Dialogue* is motived by a love of rhetorical fulness) and hendiadys, there is something characteristic about the way in which these figures are accumulated in opposite groups. Take, for example, the following from the *Dialogue*: 2. 11 *ingenio potius et vi naturae quam institutione et litteris*; 24. 4 *non solum ingenio ac spiritu, sed etiam eruditione et arte*; 33. 9 *neque enim solum*

[1] What could be more Ciceronian than such a passage as the following (5. 13)? *sed ipsum solum apud hos arguam quod natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam, qua parere simul et tueri amicitias, adsciscere necessitudines, complecti provincias possit, omittit studium quo non aliud in civitate nostra vel ad utilitatem fructuosius vel ad voluptatem iucundius vel ad dignitatem amplius vel ad urbis famam pulchrius vel ad totius imperii atque omnium gentium notitiam inlustrius excogitari potest. Nam si ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra derigenda sunt, quid est tutius quam eam exercere artem qua semper armatus praesidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum et terrorem ultro feras, ipse securus et velut quadam perpetua potentia ac potestate munitus?*

[2] These have been worked out, perhaps in excessive detail, by Weinkauff; only the more striking instances of resemblance are given here; cp. Jansen, pp. 76–79.

[3] See p. li.

arte et scientia, sed longo magis facultate et usu; 37. 10 *non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratione*; 19. 23 *vi et potestate, non iure aut legibus*; 28. 19 *non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam lususque.* Compare with these passages, *Agr.* iii. 4 *non spem modo ac votum . . . sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur*; iv. 17 *scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute appetebat*; xxxi. 4 *bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum*; xxxiii. 12 *non fama nec rumore sed castris et armis tenemus*; *Germ.* xxv. 7 *non disciplina et severitate sed impetu et ira*; xxvii. 6 *lamenta et lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt*; xli. 6 *cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus.* In all three treatises again there are frequent instances of the construction known as *oratio bimembris*, and *trimembris*,—the development of an idea in a phrase consisting of two or more parts. Of this the following may be taken as examples:—

Dial. 20. 8 *Vulgus quoque adsistentium et adfluens et vagus auditor.*	*Agr.* xxix. 13 omnis iuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus.
Dial. 29. 10 *histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque studia.*	*Agr.* xlv. 1 obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum.
Dial. 16. 26 *ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum immensi huius aevi.*	
Dial. 12. 8 *in illa casta et nullis contacta vitiis pectora.*	*Agr.* xvi. 26 innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus.
	Germ. x. 13 candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti.
	Germ. xxviii. 5 promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia divisas.
Dial. 40. 10 *sine obsequio, sine veritate, contumax, temeraria, adrogans.*	*Germ.* xxxv. 8 sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique.
Dial. 13. 17 *a sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi.*	*Agr.* xiii. 1 dilectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii munera.
Dial. 6. 11 *homines veteres et senes et totius orbis gratia subnixos.*	*Agr.* xli. 13 vigorem et constantiam et expertum bellis animum.
Dial. 28. 26 *sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta uniuscuiusque natura.*	*Germ.* iv. 2 propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem.

Many other parallelisms are cited in the notes, as they occur, and certainly claim a place in the argument for identity of authorship. Reference may also be made to certain significant phrases, some of which seem, as it were, to anticipate the author's later power of novel and

striking combinations: e.g. *arcana semotae dictionis*, 2. 9; *sollicitudo lenocinatur voluptati*, 6. 24; *lucrosae huius et sanguinantis eloquentiae*, 12. 9; *nomen inserere famae*, 10. 12; *gaudii pondus et constantia*, 6. 22; *me deiungere a forensi labore*, 11. 12; *hanc illi famam circumdederunt*, 37. 26; *utilitates alunt*, 9. 3; *philosophiam odoratus*, 19. 15; *nec insanum ultra et lubricum forum famamque pallentem trepidus experiar*, 13. 20. Cp. also *negotium sibi importare*, 3. 20; *angustiae rerum eos circumsteterunt*, 8. 12; *minimum locum obtinere*, 8. 25; *sin periculum increpuit*, 5. 26; *ingredi famam auspicatus sum*, 11. 8. Again in such a reflection as that with which Maternus points the contrast between the forensic oratory of republican times and that of his own day, we seem to recognize a tone more eminently characteristic of Tacitus than of any contemporary writer: *cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid iudicaretur*, 39. 18.

The influence exerted on the style of the *Dialogue* by the various writers of whom Tacitus was at the time an enthusiastic student, might be shown at length, and has, in fact, been proved by editors in almost excessive detail. Reference has already been made to **Cicero**, with whose works, especially the rhetorical treatises, he was obviously well-acquainted. Even in his choice of the literary form of his treatise, Tacitus was no doubt influenced by Cicero's successful imitations of the Platonic dialogues; and the commentary on the text will give proof of various reminiscences which he utilized for the 'setting' of the piece, as well as for the management of its development. For example, the *Dialogue* professes to be only a narrative of a conversation in which certain distinguished persons had once taken part, thus reproducing the frame-work of the *De Oratore*[1]. Tacitus himself was present only as a listener, like Cicero in the *De Amicitia* and *De Natura Deorum*. The device of marking the transition from the first to the second part of the dialogue by the introduction of a fresh speaker (ch. 14) seems to be borrowed from the *De Oratore* ii. § 14: cp. *De Rep.* i. § 17[2]. The promise in the last chapter of a continuation of the debate at some future time is a feature which Cicero had originally taken from Plato (see *De Orat.* i. ad fin.; *De Nat. Deor.* iii. § 94). Other resemblances are noticed in connexion with *postero die*, 2. 1 and *Pro duobus promitto*, 16. 8. References are made to Cicero's letters (18. 22 sqq.) and speeches[3], his lost dialogue *Hortensius* (16. 28) and also to his poems (21. 29). Aper

[1] Cicero (De Or. i. § 4) narrates *quae viri omnium praestantissimi clarissimique censuerint*: Tacitus *quae a praestantissimis viris et excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter* acceperit. Cp. on *repetendus*, 1. 11.

[2] *Quid vos agitis? Num sermonem vestrum dirimit noster interventus? Minime vero, inquit Africanus.*

[3] The Verrine orations, 20. 3; Pro Tullio and Pro Caecina, 20. 4; Pro Archia, 37. 25; Pro Milone, ibid., as also the Catilinarian orations and the Philippics.

is even allowed (23 ad init.) to raise a laugh over the hackneyed *esse videatur* as well as over some of Cicero's inferior witticisms (*rotam Fortunae, ius Verrinum*, ibid.). Messalla, on the other hand, quotes him as a high authority on the necessity of a wide philosophical culture for the orator (32. 28).

The search for specific resemblances in the *Dialogue* to the language and phraseology of Cicero is liable to be overdone[1]. Little is to be gained by recording fortuitous coincidences of expression between two authors, except in cases where the phrases used by both are marked by something more or less characteristic and striking. In this view, such expressions as the following may be noted as being not improbably (see the notes) conscious reminiscences of Cicero rather than the 'current coin' of the language of Tacitus's own day: *diem eximere*, 19. 10; *controversias tueri*, 10. 37; *redolent antiquitatem*, 21. 18; *animorum venas tenere*, 31. 19. Other resemblances will be found duly noted in the commentary, but it may be convenient to give a *résumé* of them also here (cp. Goelzer, p. xxxv, note). Take the first book of the *De Oratore* and cp. § 20 *etenim ex rerum cognitione efflorescat et redundet oportet oratio* with *Dial.* 30. 23; § 53 *nisi qui naturas hominum vimque omnem humanitatis . . . penitus perspexerit* with 31. 10; § 72 *artibus quae sunt libero homine dignae . . . quibus ipsis, si in dicendo non utimur, tamen apparet atque exstat utrum simus earum rerum rudes an didicerimus* with 32. 4; § 32 *arma quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis vel provocare improbos vel te ulcisci lacessitus* with 5. 28; § 31 *quid enim est tam admirabile quam ex infinita multitudine existere unum . . .*, with 6. 15; § 116 *profiteri se esse omnibus silentibus unum . . .* with the same passage; § 97 *uti ei qui audirent sic afficerentur animis ut eos affici vellet orator* with 6. 17; and finally the definition of *orator* quoted from *De Or.* i. 15, 64 in the notes on 30. 26. Cp. also with 37. 14 *His accedebat*, &c., *De Or.* i. § 15 *Excitabat eos magnitudo varietas multitudoque in omni genere causarum.* Reminiscences of the *Brutus* will be found at 30. 13 and 16; 8. 15; 33. 13. But it is in the general fulness of the style of the *Dialogue* that the influence of Cicero's writings on its author may best be traced. Such synonyms as the following (sometimes with a slightly different shade of meaning) have a distinctly Ciceronian ring about them, and have in fact been exactly paralleled by Weinkauff and others: *animi et ingenii, clamore plausuque, divitiae et opes, fama et laus, vis et facultas, memoria et recordatio, modestia ac pudore, operae curaeque.*

[1] As is true, in fact, of the first part of Kleiber's tractate (pp. 1–33), though the next portion (pp. 33–70) is valuable as containing equally striking instances of difference.

As the **Synonyms** and other forms of double expression in the *Dialogue* have engaged a great deal of attention, as forming an important part of the internal evidence advanced by many against the authorship of Tacitus, a more or less complete list may be given here, with the addition of the more striking of the parallelisms from Cicero, Seneca, and Quintilian which have been collected by the industry of such writers as Weinkauff, Gericke, Gruenwald, Kleiber, and Novak.

1. 13. *memoria et recordatione*: cp. Cic. *Lael.* § 103 recordatio et memoria; *De Prov. Cons.* § 43 ultimi temporis recordatione et proximi memoria.

2. 16. *industriae et laboris.* Cic. *Brut.* § 237, *Ad Fam.* xiii. 10, 3.

4. 2. *frequens et assidua contentio.* Quint. xi. 2, 28 continua et crebra meditatio.

4. 3. *agitare et insequi.* Cic. *Pro Mur.* § 21.

5. 23. *metum et terrorem.* *Agr.* xxxii. 8; Cic. *Verr.* iv. 19, 41.

5. 24. *potentia ac potestate*: see note ad loc.

6. 3. *libero et ingenuo*: so Quint. *Decl.* 101, 8; 351, 22 (ed. Ritter).

6. 5. *plenam et frequentem domum.*

6. 11. *homines veteres et senes.*

6. 22. *novam et recentem curam*: cp. 8. 3 *novis et recentibus .... exemplis.* So *Hist.* iv. 65, 15 nova et recentia iura; Cic. *Pro Flacc.* § 6 lege hac recenti ac nova; Liv. 35, 10 nova ac recentia omnia.

7. 8. *tueri et defendere*: see note ad loc.

7. 11. *fama et laus.* Quint. *Decl.* 37, 14 laude et fama.

7. 17. *advenae et peregrini.*

8. 7. *numen et caelestis vis.*

8. 11. *sordidius et abiectius*: so *Ann.* xiii. 46, 16 abiectum et sordidum: cp. Quint. ii. 12, 7; Sen. *Ep.* 37, 4.

8. 12. *paupertas et angustiae rerum.*

9. 1. *carmina et versus*: see note.

9. 15. *excudit et elucubravit*: see note.

9. 21. *certam et solidam . . . frugem.* Quint. *Decl.* 116, 2 firmam solidamque.

9. 29. *elaborare et efficere.* Cic. *Ad Fam.* ix. 16, 2.

9. 31. *nemora et lucos.* *Germ.* ix. 8; x. 12; xlv. 22: cp. Quint. x. 3, 22 nemora silvasque.

10. 14. *sacras et venerabiles.* Sen. *Ep.* 14, 11 and 55, 4; Quint. *Decl.* 345, 14 sacram et venerabilem: cp. 270, 25.

10. 22. *robur ac vires.* *Hist.* ii. 11, 9 virium ac roboris (where *vires* refers however to numerical strength): cp. Quint. v. 12, 18 robur ac lacertos.

10. 31. *fortuitae et subitae dictionis*: see note.

11. 7. *efficere et eniti.* Cic. *Amic.* § 59: cp. *Div. in Caec.* § 26.

11. 11. *notitiae ac nominis*, and again at 36. 19.

12. 5. *loca pura atque innocentia.*

12. 12. *poetis et vatibus.*

13. 17. *sollicitudinibus et curis*. Cic. *De Fin.* v. § 57: cp. Quint. *Decl.* 50, 9; *Inst. Or.* xi. 1, 44.

14. 16. *eruditionis ac litterarum*: so 'doctrina et litterae': e.g. Quint. xi. 1, 89.

15. 1. *vetera et antiqua*, and again 16. 32; 17 ad fin. So Plaut. *Pers.* 1. 2, 1 veterem et antiquum quaestum; Plin. *Pan.* 11, 4 veteres et antiquos aemularis; Cic. *Phil.* v. § 47 maiores nostri, veteres illi, admodum antiqui; Quint. *Decl.* 235, 14 vetus et antiqua.

17 ad fin. *coniungere et copulare*. Quint. *Decl.* 57, 26 coniunxistis copulastisque: cp. Cic. *De Or.* i. § 222 iungi copularique; *Or.* § 154; Plin. *Ep.* viii. 20, 6.

18. 1. *fama gloriaque*.

18. 7. *fortius et audentius*.

18. 9. *plenior et uberior*: see note.

18. 19. *inflatus et tumens*.

19. 9. *imperitus et rudis*. Sen. *Ep.* 72, 9 and elsewhere; Quint. *Decl.* 386, 11 rudem et imperitam.

19. 22. *vi et potestate*. *Hist.* ii. 39, 2 vis ac potestas; iii. 11, 15; Quint. *Decl.* 301, 11 vi et potestate; *Inst. Or.* xi. 3, 2: cp. *Germ.* xlii. 8 vis et potentia.

20. 6. *nitore et cultu*: see note. Add Quint. xi. 1, 48.

20. 10. *tristem et impexam*. Quint. *Decl.* 67, 28 impexi squalidique.

21. 32. *durus et siccus*. Quint. iv. 2, 46 durum aridumque.

22. 18. *visum et oculos*.

22. 25. *uno et eodem*. Quint. xii. 10, 51 unum atque idem.

23. 25. *malignitas et invidia*: cp. non malignitate nec invidia, 25. 28; Seneca, *De Ira* iii. 5, 8, and *Ep.* 106, 6.

25. 26. *invidere et livere*.

25. 28. *simpliciter et ingenue*. Quint. xii. 11, 8 candide . . . . atque simpliciter.

26. 2. *optimo et perfectissimo genere*: cp. 34. 18 *optimus et electissimus*.

26. 18. *modestia ac pudore*: cp. *Ann.* iii. 26, 6.

26. 28. *in publicum et in commune*.

26. 33. *fracta et deminuta*.

28. 16. *probatis spectatisque*. Cic. *De Or.* 1 § 124.

28. 19. *studia curasque*. Quint. x. 7, 29 cura et studio.

29. 9. *propria et peculiaria*: cp. Suet. *Aug.* 5; Plin. *Pan.* 2.

30. 22. *rerum motus causasque*.

30. 24. *exundat et exuberat*.

30. 25. *oratoris vis et facultas*: see note.

30. 26. *angustis et brevibus terminis*: see note.

32. 6. *eminet et excellit*.

32. 14. *foeda ac pudenda vitia*.

32. 20. *circumcisa et amputata*: see note.

32. 22. *primam et praecipuam*: see note.

32. 28. *causae magnae et graves*.

33. 9. *confirmare et alere*. Quint. i. 1, 36 firmatur atque alitur.

33. 13. *initia et semina*: see note.
33. 15. *institui erudirique.*
36. 5. *composita et quieta.* Sen. *Ep.* 100, 8 quietum compositumque.
36. 26. *conspicuum et eminentem locum.*
36. 34. *mutum et elinguem*: see note.
37. 12. *multum operae curaeque.*
37. 22. *claram et inlustrem.*
37. 30. *turbidis et inquietis temporibus*: cp. *securus et quietus*, 13. 4.
37. 35. *altior et excelsior.*
39. 8. *liberi et soluti*: see note.
39. 27. *excitare et incendere.*
40. 8. *magna et notabilis eloquentia.*
41. 22. *laus et gloria.* Quint. ii. 16, 19; viii. 3, 12.
41. 23. *modus et temperamentum.*

That Tacitus did not lay aside all at once the 'rotundity' of expression which these examples illustrate might be shown by citations from his later works. Cp. for example *Agr.* iv. 16 *incensum ac flagrantem animum*; ibid. 17 *scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute adpetebat*; *Agr.* vi. 14 *quiete et otio* (as also xlii. 5); *Germ.* xxiv. 7 *extremo ac novissimo iactu*, and many other instances which help to show the continuity of his stylistic development, in spite of the wide gulf that separates his latest from his earliest literary effort.

Some of the parallelisms from **Quintilian** quoted in the foregoing list, and others which will be found in the notes, will remind the reader of the points of contact which exist between the author of the *Dialogue* and the great contemporary professor of rhetoric. It is, of course, extremely crude to say, with some critics—even while accepting the view that the composition of the work must be assigned to the reign of Titus or the early years of Domitian—that Quintilian's *Institutio* must have served, especially in regard to phraseology and terminology, as the model for whole passages of the *Dialogue*. The *Institutio* was not published till the earlier part of the last decade of the century, and it is impossible therefore that it can have been in Tacitus's hands ten or eleven years previously. But the materials of which it consists had been put together in the course of Quintilian's long career as a teacher of rhetoric: and if Tacitus had not actually studied under him, he had no doubt methods of acquainting himself with the substance and general character of the teaching which was being imparted to the youth of Rome. The similarity of the subject matter of the *Dialogue* to that of portions of the *Institutio* is enough in itself to suggest inevitable resemblances. The proper methods of elementary instruction (cp. *Inst.*

i. 1 and *Dial.* 30 sq.), the disadvantages of the existing school-training (i. 2 and *Dial.* 35), its moral effects (i. 2, 4 and *Dial.* 35. 5), the place of rhetoric in education (ii. 1 and *Dial.* 35), the criticism of literature (cp. Aper's and Messalla's speeches with the corresponding parts of Quint. x. 1)—all these are subjects in regard to which the two writers seem to have had much in common. The fact that their verdicts on others do not always coincide ought, however, to be noticed as an additional disproof of the theory, lately revived by Novak, that it was Quintilian who wrote the *Dialogue*: for example there is a slight difference in their estimate of the *prooemia* of Messalla Corvinus (see on 20. 2): Vibius Crispus is spoken of with more appreciation by Quintilian than by Tacitus (see on 8. 2), and Saleius Bassus is credited with a higher degree of poetical perfection by the latter than by the former (see on 5. 6). Cp. too what is said of Lucan, 20. 19.

It would hardly have been possible for one writing within twenty years of the death of **Seneca** to avoid showing any signs of the influence of that versatile writer. In the opposition between the tendencies which he represented and the simpler and more natural diction recommended by Quintilian, Tacitus no doubt sided with the latter: but he could not escape altogether from the effects which the study of the philosopher's writings produced on the minds of his readers, and against which, especially in the case of young students, Quintilian so strongly protests (x. 1, 125 sq.). When Tacitus was a young man, Seneca was the most popular of Roman authors: *tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adulescentium fuit* (l. c.). It is mainly in divergences from ordinary phraseology that resemblances have been noted, and these will be found in the commentary: they have been collected, again in excessive detail, by Weinkauff (pp. cliii sqq.) and Kleiber (pp. 74 sqq.). Reference need only be made here to the frequent recurrence of the opposition between *sensus* and *sententiae* (see on 20. 16; 32. 17), the use of *incipit* (16. 32), *imbui* (19. 21), *infinitus* (for *magnus*, 14. 12 and 15. 11), *oblectare otium* (10. 12: cp. *otium suum oblectat*, Sen. *Dial.* i. 5, 4), *in eodem valetudinario*, 21. 4, &c., &c.

Taking now a general review of the language of the *Dialogue*, we may state its main peculiarities, under various heads, as under:—

The following words are, in the first place, to be noted as occurring in the *Dialogue* for the first time (Draeger § 249): *histrionalis* 29. 10; *proeliator* 37. 32; *planitas* 23. 24; *scurrilitas* 22. 24; *uniformis* 32. 2; *depacare* 38 ad fin.

Here is a list of words which, though not peculiar to Tacitus, show

in their use and application the influence of the Silver Age. For explanation and illustration reference may be made to the notes. *Admirator* 19. 1 and 21. 24; *antiquarius* 21. 18; *auditorium* 9. 18; *aures* (of 'taste') see on 19. 7 and 34. 16; *beatus* 9. 19; *conversatio* 9. 30; *cura* (of a book) 3. 13; *enervis* 18. 25; *excessus* 22. 11; *extemporalis* 6. 24; *exundare* 30. 24; *fabulosus* 12. 19; *facultates* (=*opes*) 8. 15; *favorabilis* (=*gratiosus*) 7. 3; *inserere* 2. 12; *insumere* 30. 4; *lenocinari* 6. 24; *malignus* 3. 4 (found in Plautus, Vergil, and Horace: not in Cicero); *mereri* 9. 26 (for *consequi*, as often in Quintilian); *negotium* 9. 11; *notitia* 5. 19; *odorari* 19. 15; *officium* (of an office or post) 6. 7; *otiosus* 18. 24; *plerique* 2. 10; *plerumque* 6. 9; *profectus* 20. 12; *rubor* 37. 1; *scurrilitas* 22 ad fin. (cp. Quint. xi. 1, 30); *secessus* 13. 4 (in Cicero *recessus*); *statim* (of logical consequence) 18. 15; *studere* (used absolutely) 21. 30; *studiosus* 21. 9; *substantia* 8. 15.

In regard to the use of **Nouns**, perhaps the most remarkable feature is the extension of the liking for abstract plurals to such cases as *advocationes* 4. 4; *comitatus et egressus* 6. 14; *utilitates* 9. 3 (cp. *Ann.* i. 10, 14); *curae* 28. 21; *remissiones* ibid.; *educationes* 28. 24; *pravitates* 28. 26. Among peculiar verbal nouns in *-tor* we have, in addition to *proeliator* and *admirator* cited above, *defensor* 24. 7, not to mention *auditor* 32. 25. Examples of the use of abstract for concrete are *amicitia* 8. 18; *ingenia* 2. 5: cp. *inventio* 23. 22. On the other hand striking instances of the use of a noun and a participle to represent an abstract idea may be found at 29. 11 and 37. 25.

The employment of **Adjectives** as nouns (very common in the Silver Age: see Introd. to Quint. X, p. xlvi sqq.), is exemplified in *secretum* 12. 1 (cp. Quint. x. 3, 30 *ille tantus amator secreti Demosthenes*) and *studiosus* 21. 9 (cp. Quint. x. 1, 45 *facile est studiosis iudicare*; Plin. *Ep.* viii. 13). So too participles: *dicentium* 6. 18; *orantibus* 6. 20; *praecipientium* 28. 7; *medentis* 41. 10; *regentis* 41. 13: cp. *servientium, Agr.* xl. 13; *peccantium* ib. iv. 10; *laudantes* ib. xli. 4. The use of *placita* (*philosophorum placita* 19. 18) is common in the historical works of Tacitus, in Seneca, and in the post-Augustan writers generally: e.g. Plin. *N. H.* 14, 22, 28, § 143. The omission of a substantive may also be noted in such phrases as *in levioribus* 10. 20, and *haec vetera* 37. 6; also with *omnibus* 19. 19; 36. 8. In the comparison of participles, both present and perfect, when used as adjectives, Tacitus follows the example already set by Cicero and Livy. In the *Dialogue* we have *audentior* 14. 10 (cp. *audentioribus spatiis, Hist.* ii. 2, 8); *eminentior* 25. 7; *coniunctior* 5. 5; *distinctior* 18. 10; *absolutissimus* 5. 6: cp. *abiectius* 8. 11. So afterwards, in the *Annals*, *obaeratior* vi. 17, 4; *improvisior* ii.

47, 1; *insignitior* iii. 70, 10; *metuentior* xiii. 25, 15, and many other instances. Among more or less peculiar uses of adjectives may be noted *fecundus* 33. 5 (*fecundissima eorum studia*: cp. Quintilian's phrase *studiorum fructus* x. 3, 2; xii. 6, 3; 11, 4); *beatus* 9. 19; *altus* 14. 3 (*altior sermo*, i.e. *gravior sermo*: cp. Quint. iii. 8, 42 *altior quaestio*): also the personal construction with *manifestus* 16. 11. The peculiar use of the future participle may also be mentioned here: see on *mansurum* 9. 22.

As to **Pronouns**, the use of *hic* with reference to contemporary circumstances is characteristic both of Tacitus and Quintilian: see on 28. 9; 32. 13, and cp. 37. 6; Germ. iii. 3, xx. 1. Instances of *et ipse* occur 30. 1 and 37. 15.

In regard to **Verbs**, it is well known that Tacitus shows a growing tendency to prefer simple forms to their corresponding compounds. Here are a few examples. *Adsuescere* occurs *Dial.* 20. 9; 34. 6; *Agr.* xvi. 19; xxi. 3; *Germ.* iv. 8: *suescere*, *Ann.* ii. 44, 2; 52. 4; xiv. 27, 8. *Adiuvare*, *Dial.* 16. 7; *Agr.* xxi. 4: *iuvare*, *Hist.* v. 23, 5; *Ann.* ii. 78, 9. *Innotescere*, *Dial.* 10. 5; *Hist.* iv. 50, 2, whereas *notescere* is the form used in the *Annals*. *Demonstrare* occurs four times in the *Dialogue*, e.g. 7. 17: in the *Agricola* and *Germania* the simple form is found as frequently. The author's preference, in the *Dialogue*, for compound forms is made an argument for the retention of *depacaverat* 38 ad fin., where see note. Cp. the frequent use in the *Annals* of *paratus* for *apparatus* (*Dial.* 22. 21). On the other hand we have in the *Dialogue* *flexisse* 19. 4; *finire* (for *definire*) 38. 6; *cludere* 30. 26; *pensare* 40 ad fin.; *vanescere* 10. 25; *ferre* (for *efferre*) 19. 17; *fateri* 17. 17; 32. 9: cp. also 25. 9: while a few cases are doubtful, as *sequitur—insequitur* 10. 3, and perhaps *hortatur—exhortatur* 14. 9.

It is hardly necessary to illustrate the development of the usage by which compound verbs take a simple accusative instead of a prepositional construction: cp. however *antecedere* 25. 15; *praecurrere* 25. 5, and see Draeger § 40.

The frequent use of the perfect subjunctive, in modest assertions, is also to be noted, e.g. *timuerim* 13. 2; *cesserit* 13. 10; *dixerim* 32. 22; *vocaverim* 18. 4; *non negaverim* 26. 14; Draeger § 28. So even *ut sic dixerim* 34. 8; 40. 19.

Among other peculiarities may be mentioned a certain preference for the plural verb even in cases where it is used with two antithetical nominatives, e.g. 42. 6 *Ego te poetis, Messalla autem antiquariis criminabimur.* In other writers, the verb naturally follows the number of the second nominative. Cp. *Hist.* ii. 30, 14 *Caecina ut foedum ac maculosum, ille ut tumidum ac vanum inridebant*: so *censuere*, *Ann.* i. 8, 14;

decoravere iii. 62, 3; *travecti sunt* xii. 41, 9; *vastarentur* xiv. 31, 5; *regebant* xv. 7, 5. The omission of *esse* and its parts is noticeable at 12. 21; 18. 12: cp. 37. 19. The infinitive follows *contentus* 18. 13; *dubitare* 18. 17; *obnoxium* 10. 27; *optare* 9. 2 (as Quint. x. 1, 127; 7, 3); *datur* 7. 8 (cp. Quint. x. 7, 22; xi. 3, 125, 127). *Colligere* is construed with the acc. c. inf. 24 ad fin. The use of *incipit* is made the subject of a note at 16 ad fin.

The use of the gerundive (or gerund) after *habeo* is exemplified in the note on *spectanda haberemus* 8. 11. The frequent occurrence of the ablative of the gerund is commented on in the note on 3. 22 in connexion with the proposed emendation *adgregando*: cp. *lacessendo* 27. 6. As an alternative to *adgregando*, the genitive *adgregandi* might also be considered: cp. Vell. ii. 128, 1 *neque novus hic mos senatus populique Romani est putandi quod optimum sit esse nobilissimum*: here *putandi* is epexegetic = *hic mos putandi . . . non novus est.* Those who read *adgregans* may compare the double constructions, with both participle and gerundial ablative, in *Ann.* xiii. 47, 3 *socors ingenium eius in contrarium* trahens *callidumque et simulatorem* interpretando; xv. 38, 10 *deinde in edita* adsurgens *et rursus inferiora* populando.

As to **Prepositions**, reference may be made to the notes on *ad* 5. 16; *adversus* 33. 5; *circa* 3. 16 (cp. Quint. i. 1, 35 *quoniam circa res adhuc tenues moramur*); 22. 11; 28. 12; *citra* 27. 9; 41. 25 (other instances of this use occur *Agr.* i. 11; xxxv. 6; *Germ.* xvi. 8, but not in the *Histories* or *Annals*); *iuxta* 22. 8; *per quae* 29. 8; *pro* 13 ad fin. (where compare with *consulere pro, rogare pro,* Quint. *Decl.* 117. 15 *praeparare debebimus animum iudicis pro ipsa persona sponsoris*; id. 60. 24 *pro utroque pariter rogabimus*); *propter* 21. 20. Adverbial or adjectival phrases (often local in meaning) are compounded with *in*, e.g. *in medio* 18. 2; *in proximo* 16. 27 (cp. Quint. vii. 1, 44; i. 3, 4); *in confesso* 25. 7; 27. 3; *in publicum, in commune* 26. 28.

Among **Adverbs** and **Conjunctions**, and adverbial phrases, the following may be noticed:—

Adice quod 9. 29. This phrase, which is common in Seneca, is noted by Novak as of frequent occurrence in Quintilian's *Declamations*; 100, 24; 150, 3; 264, 4; 274, 1. *Ceterum* 12. 11; 26. 20. *Diu* = *multis verbis* 25. 2. So Quint. i. 10, 29 *haec diutius forent dicenda*; vi. 4, 14 *quo saepius diutiusque dicatur*: cp. *Dial.* 11. 3. *Dummodo* 25. 7; *Germ.* vi. 19. In the *Histories* and *Annals*, *dum* is used by itself. *Et* is used in joining synonyms in negative sentences: e.g. 22. 15 *non satis expolitus et splendens*; *Ann.* i. 4, 1 *nihil usquam prisci et integri moris.* On the other hand *aut* is probably right at 19. 23 *non*

iure aut *legibus*, though Quint. *Decl.* 212, 19 *iure legibusque*, and 79. 27 *legibus ac iure* may be cited in support of *ac* or *et*. *Ideoque* (for *itaque*) 31. 32 (cp. *atque ideo* 3. 12): this form is very frequent also in Quintilian: see on x. 1, 21. *Igitur* stands second in the sentence at 8. 28; 10. 35; 23. 20: cp. *Agr.* xvi. 12; *Germ.* xlv. 22; *Hist.* iv. 15, 15; *Ann.* i. 47, 5. Elsewhere in Tacitus, unlike Cicero, it is always first. *Quin immo* 6. 7; 34. 24; 36. 24; 39. 9 (for the more Ciceronian *quin etiam*; 29. 6): so too in Quintilian vii. 10, 8, and elsewhere: in the *Annals*, Tacitus generally has *quin et*. *Licet* for *etsi*, as occasionally in Cicero: 9. 5; 13. 2. *Modo . . . nunc* for *modo . . . . modo* 3. 16. *Mox* (=*deinde* 'thereafter') 10. 35; 17. 11. Cp. *Ann.* vi. 51, 2 *quamquam mater in Liviam et mox Iuliam familiam adoptione transierit*. *Neque*=*ne quidem* 8. 27 *quae neque ipsa tamen negleguntur*, as often elsewhere in Tacitus (Gerber and Greef, p. 933 *a*). So too at 21. 36 some who read *nec* explain it as=*ne quidem*, i. e. Corvinus is no more responsible than some of the early orators already referred to. For *nec* with the subjunctive, in the negative expression of a wish or command, see on 13. 19. *Nedum* 25. 10; *nedum ut* 10. 5. *Nempe enim* 35. 12, introducing an assertion with reference to a previous statement. So twice in Quintilian, ii. 13, 9 *nam recti quidem corporis vel minima gratia est. Nempe enim adversa sit facies et demissa brachia et iuncti pedes et a summis ad ima rigens opus*: viii. Pr. § 6. Cp. Plin. *Pan.* § 62. For *nempe* by itself see 9. 10; 17. 6; 21. 14. *Nisi ut* 33. 19: for *ut non*, *Hist.* iv. 73 ad fin. *Parum est* with the infinitive, 23. 15 *parum est aegrum non esse*: cp. 36. 27; this use occurs in Livy, and frequently in Quintilian's *Declamations*, 120, 14 *parum est faenerari civibus*; 122, 25 *parum erat sepeliri tyrannum*; 152, 30 *parum est dicere*; 196, 25 *tamquam parum esset exigere poenas*; 241, 10 *parum sit tibi perdere*; 351, 2 *parum est dicere quasi ingenua* (Novak). *Plane* 27. 4; 26. 31; 35. 14. *Porro* 5. 7; 23. 14. *Quamquam* frequently with the subjunctive: 15. 9; 21. 29; 26. 16; 34. 13. So *Agr.* iii. 3; xiii. 5; *Germ.* xxviii. 18; xix. 14. *In quantum* is used instead of *quantum* at 2. 13 and 41. 19. It cannot, however, be right at 21 ad fin., where *quam* is nearer the MSS.: the meaning 'how little,' and the use of the expression in an indirect question, would both be irregular. *Quatenus* (for *quoniam*) 5. 11; 19. 1. *Quominus* (for *quin*): see on 3. 15, and cp. 34. 11: it is adopted in the text also at 21. 13 *nec voluntatem ei quo minus sublimius et cultius diceret*, though the MS. *quo* is defended by Novak, who compares Quint. *Decl.* 42, 3 *legum latori non defuisse eloquendi facultatem ut . . . plane aperteque diceret*. *Quoque* (for *etiam* or *vel*) 6. 19; 7. 16; 10. 21; 11. 9; 19. 17; 21. 12; 39. 22: cp. 4. 7; 17. 23: for *hodie quoque* see on 34. 34. *Statim* 18. 15. *Tamquam* 2. 2; 2. 15; 18. 25;

25. 3. *Utique* 18. 21; 23. 6; 22. 7. *Utrumne* .... *an* (for *utrum* .... *an*) 35. 7 and 37. 16: so twice in Quintilian iii. 3, 13 *utrumne hae partes essent rhetorices, an* ...: xii. 1, 40. *Velut* seems to be preferred, in figures and with comparisons, to *quasi* (13. 8; 32. 21; 33. 14) and *tamquam* (37. 33): see 5. 23; 14. 1; 17. 29; 19. 1; 22. 22; 26. 23; 30. 13; 32. 18; 33. 2; 38. 7; 39. 4; 39. 14. The same holds good also of Quintilian: see Introd. to Book X, p. lii.

In regard to copulative conjunctions, Tacitus's love of variety may be recognized in such a combination as *imagines* ac *tituli* et *statuae* 8. 25, which recurs frequently in the *Histories*, and still more frequently in the *Annals*. A doubtful instance of *et* .... *atque* is commented on at 14. 12. The collocation *nec* .... *et* (*οὔτε* ... *τε*) is found at 2. 10; 4. 3; 33. 11. The copious use of the copula at 17. 4; 37. 11; 39. 20 may also be noted: cp. *Agr.* xxxvii. 13; *Germ.* xl. 3.

Comparative sentences (*quo* ... *eo*, *quanto* ... *tanto*) are expressed in full, 8. 11; 36. 16; 37. 33 (cp. *Agr.* vi. 5; xxxi. 15; xlii. 16; *Germ.* xx. 15), whereas in the later writings the correlative is frequently omitted (e. g. *Hist.* i. 14, 14; iii. 18, 12; *Ann.* i. 2, 9). Similarly in adversative sentences (*non solum*, *modo*, *tantum* .... *sed etiam*) the *etiam* is often omitted in the *Annals*. As a variety we have, in the *Dialogue*, *non modo* .... *sed quoque* 2. 6; 37. 10: cp. *Hist.* i. 57, 11. The frequent use of *quomodo* ... *sic* in co-ordinating sentences is specially noticeable: see 25. 10; 36. 3; 39. 6; 41. 9. For *aeque* .... *quam* see on 10. 2. *Quidem* is constantly used in antithetical sentences: followed by *tamen* 3. 8; 9. 14 and 26: by *sed* 1. 15; 8. 8: and by *autem* 8. 21; 18. 23; 25. 14. Cp. *sine dubio* ... *sed* 40. 22 and the note there.

At 11. 1 and 24. 1 we have the formula *Quae cum dixisset*. In his later writings Tacitus uses, along with 'verba sentiendi,' *ubi* in place of *cum*; *Agr.* xxvi. 1 *Quod ubi cognitum*; *Hist.* ii. 28, 5 *Quod ubi auditum*; while in the *Annals* we find *Quod postquam* i. 6, 14.

Hercule occurs (with great variations in the MSS. between *hercule* and *hercle*) 1. 10; 5. 26; 8. 26; 14. 19; 19. 19; 21. 8; 21. 22; 26. 2; 26. 6; 30. 19; 34. 25; 39. 23.

In regard to the use of figures, reference may be made to the frequent cases of **Anaphora** that are to be found in the *Dialogue*. At 40. 21 *nullus* is made to introduce five consecutive clauses, and *hinc* four at 36. 10: cp. *suus* 30. 14; *hi*—*hos* 36. 21; *haec*—*hoc* 12. 6; *tanto* (thrice) 36. 17; *sic* 18. 8; *quis* 20. 1; *cum* (thrice) 36. 27; *donec* 40. 19; *quid* 41. 13; *non* and *ille* 30. 19–22; *omnia* (thrice) 38. 8, and again 40. 17. So in *Agr.* xviii. 23 *qui* is repeated three times; cp. *Germ.* xl. 14 *tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata*; *Hist.* i. 10, 9 *apud subiectos, apud*

proximos, apud collegas; *Ann.* iv. 34, 25 *ipse divus Iulius, ipse divus Augustus.* The passages referred to at 20. 1 and 41. 13 illustrate also the use of the rhetorical question, which is specially noticeable in the speeches of Aper and Maternus; for the former see 5. 30; 6. 10; 7. 11 sqq.; 9. 10 sqq.; for the latter, 13. 11 sqq.; 41. 3 and 13. So Messalla, 29. 11.

Of **Zeugma**, two mild instances have been noted by editors, *mutuatus est* 24. 5, and *detexisse* 25. 27: cp. *loco* 26. 10. Readers of the *Annals* are familiar with the frequent instances of the use of this figure which the effort after brevity has given rise to in that work: e. g. ii. 20, 5 *quod arduum sibi, cetera legatis* permisit; iii. 12, 6 *nam si legatus officii terminos, obsequium erga imperatorem* exuit. In the earlier works, less pronounced examples (similar to those referred to in the *Dialogue*) may be quoted from *Agr.* iii. 4 *nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur* adsumpserit; *Germ.* vii ad fin. *cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus* gestant; *Hist.* v. 22, 8 *utque ad fallendum silentio* (sc. *utebantur* or *agebant*) *ita coepta caede, quo plus terroris adderent cuncta clamoribus* miscebant.

Of **Hendiadys** (which differs from the ordinary use of synonyms in that one of the two co-ordinated words defines the other like an adjective, or a genitive case) genuine instances are *severitate ac disciplina* 28. 11; *cursus et spatia* 39. 7; possibly also *ingeniis gloriaque* 1. 2, though it is fully as probable that these words should be rendered 'the genius and the fame.' Other examples generally referred to this category are perhaps better treated as synonyms; e. g. *viribus et armis* 37. 10; *clamore plausuque* 39. 14.

The following are instances of **Pleonasm**: *maturare* ... *festino*, 3. 12; *si ad respectum referas*, 16. 25; *cum praesertim centum et viginti annos* ... *effici ratio temporum collegerit*, 24. 14; *si illud ante praedixero*, 18. 17; *si prius* ... *pauca praedixero*, 28. 11; *qui prae Catone Appium Caecum magis mirarentur*, 18. 17. **Chiasmus** is exemplified in 10 ad fin. *et probata sit fides et libertas excusata*; 19. 18 *praecepta rhetorum, philosophorum placita*; 34. 26 *fori auditor, sectator iudiciorum*; 40. 16 *Rhodii quidam, plurimi Athenienses oratores.* Instances of **Anastrophe** are frequent: *quo laetor magis* 4. 5; *vidit namque* 19. 6; *ipsos quin immo* 6. 7; 34. 25; 33. 9 (cp. *Ann.* xv. 21, 10); and often with adverbs, *fabulosa nimis* 12. 19; *concedamus sane* 21. 19; *firmus sane* 22. 14; *nascenti adhuc* 25. 33; *teneri statim et rudes* 29. 4; *solus statim et unus* 34. 30; *laudavimus nuper* 9. 24; *rogare ultro et ambire* 9. 16; *vocare ultro* 36. 22. With these last examples cp. *Agr.* xix. 16 *emere ultro frumenta cogebantur*; *Hist.* ii. 91, 9 *grata sane et popularia*; i. 33, 2 *invalida adhuc coniuratio*;

iii. 1, 9 *pulsarum nuper legionum*; iii. 45, 9 *concussa statim flagitio domus*; *Ann.* xiii. 3, 17 *puerilibus statim annis*; xiv. 43 ad fin. *pronuntiemus ultro.*

It is very noticeable also, in view of the occurrence of the same feature in both Cicero and Quintilian, that the *Dialogue* contains many similes and comparisons taken from the practice of war or the methods of gladiatorial combats[1]. Aper's first speech is full of them: see ch. 5. 20 sqq. *quid est tutius quam eam exercere artem qua semper* armatus praesidium *amicis . . . feras, ipse . . .* munitus? *Cuius vis et utilitas aliorum* praesidio et tutela *intellegitur: sin proprium periculum increpuit . . .* eloquentia praesidium simul ac telum quo propugnare pariter et incessere *. . . possis. Quid aliud* infestis *patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam* eloquentiam suam *opposuit?* qua accinctus et minax . . . *eiusmodi* certaminum *rudem Helvidii sapientiam* elusit. Cp. 12. 11 *in locum* teli *repertus.* The young aspirant is to learn the art of oratorical warfare on the field of battle itself: *ut* . . . pugnare in proelio *disceret* (34. 8), where he will meet with foemen worthy of his steel (*adversarii* ferro non rudibus dimicantes, ib.). Just as the soldier must be furnished with every needful weapon, so must the orator possess a knowledge of every branch of culture: *quem* [*oratorem*] *non posse aliter exsistere nec exstitisse unquam confirmo nisi eum qui* tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus *sic in forum omnibus artibus* armatus exierit, 32. 9. The orator's sphere is in fact a battle-field[2]: *sic nunc te ab auditoriis et theatris in forum et ad causas et* ad vera proelia *voco*, 10. 2. And the more frequent the combats in which he engages, the higher will be his reputation for eloquence: *quo saepius* steterit tanquam in acie *quoque plures* et intulerit ictus et exceperit *quoque* maiores adversarios acrioresque pugnas *sibi ipsa desumpserit, tanto altior et excelsior et illis nobilitata* discriminibus *in ore hominum agit*, 37 ad fin. Lastly, Cassius Severus is criticized in language borrowed from a similar figure: *ipsis etiam quibus utitur* armis *incompositus et studio* feriendi *plerumque* deiectus non pugnat *sed rixatur*, 26. 18. For such work as the orator has to do, it is essential that he should cultivate a good physical habit: hence the frequent recurrence of figures derived

[1] Cp. Introd. to Quintilian X, pp. lvi, lvii, and Wollner's tractate, cited there.

[2] To the same source of military metaphor John refers the MS. reading at 25. 8 *Ne illi quidem parti sermonis eius repugno* si cominus *fatetur*, &c., 'wenn er zur Sache kommend erklärt,' &c., comparing among other passages 26. 22 *quorum neminem Aper nominare et velut in aciem educere sustinuit.* Vahlen had already defended *si* by a reference to Cic. Tusc. i. 46, 111 *illa suspicio . . . si opinamur*, and ib. iii. 31, 76 *illam opinionem . . . . si putet*: in the same way *cum* is used 14. 8, and 15. 3. But such passages as Ann. xv. 4, 10 (*Parthus nulla cominus audacia*; cp. vi. 35, 3) do not tell in favour of so extraordinary a construction as *cominus fateri* would be, if it were genuine. See text and note ad loc. for an attempted emendation.

from the human body in connexion with such words as *ossa*, *sanguis*, &c.: see on 21. 4 and 32.

V.

Manuscripts.

It is a well-known fact that, with the exception of Catullus, no classical author has come down to the modern world by so slender a thread of transmission as Tacitus. The first six books of the *Annals* rest upon an absolutely unique manuscript, the famous First Medicean, which was not recovered for a generation after the appearance of the first printed edition of his works, being commonly believed to have come to Rome from the monastery of Corvey in Westphalia, about the year 1508 [1]. For eighty years previously, the codex now known as the Second Medicean, containing the last books of the *Annals* and the *Histories*, had been in the hands of scholars. Poggio had received it, at Rome, from his friend and agent, Niccolo Niccoli, in the year 1427, but does not seem to have kept it long, as he was anxious to obtain in its place another codex which he had once seen, and which he thought a copyist would have less difficulty in transcribing. His mysterious allusions to its provenance, and the general secretiveness which marks his correspondence with Niccoli on this subject, suggest an explanation of the phenomenon that it was long before its contents became generally known [2]. It had probably been procured under circumstances rather compromising to its new owner.

Intermediate between the re-appearance of these two codices comes the discovery of the minor works of Tacitus, including the *Dialogue*, shortly before the year 1460. Some have thought that the codex containing these must also have been in Poggio's possession, though he had kept it a close secret till his death in 1459, in the same way as he had agreed to treat the manuscript received from Niccolo Niccoli. But the

[1] Ulrichs thinks that the precise date must have been 1507, as Soderini's letter to Adriani, referring to the arrival of the codex as 'quite recent' (*proxime*) is dated Jan. 1, 1508: see Eos, vol. i. p. 243. The Medicean codex of Pliny's letters seems to have originally formed part of this manuscript: see Keil's edition (1870) Praef. p. vii. On the death of Pope Leo X, it was transferred to Florence, where it is still preserved (Laur. 68, 1).

[2] *Cornelium Tacitum, cum venerit, observabo penes me occulte. Scio enim omnem illam cantilenam et unde exierit et per quem et quis eum sibi vendicet; sed nil dubites: non exibit a me ne verbo quidem*: Poggii Epist. p. 212. It is mainly on the obscure history of this 'find,' and on the late emergence of the First Medicean that Ross (1888), and Hochart (1890) have based their incredible theory that the *Annals* were forged in the fifteenth century. See Madan's 'Books in Manuscript', pp. 130–132.

probability is that we owe the minor works, not to Poggio, but to a Pope who was also an earnest scholar, and practically the founder of the Vatican Library at Rome. In the year 1451, Nicholas V had sent the monk Enoch of Ascoli, formerly one of his most intimate associates, into France, Germany, and Denmark, to search for manuscripts and to take copies. There is still extant a letter in which he recommends his emissary to the good offices of Ludwig of Erlichshausen. After referring to his intention of making a collection of Greek and Latin MSS., worthy of the Supreme Pontiff and the Apostolic See, Pope Nicholas specifies the motive of Enoch's mission in the following passage: *sed cum multi libri ex antiquis deficiant, qui culpa superiorum temporum sunt deperditi, ad inquirendum et transcribendum si reperiantur eiusmodi libros mittimus dilectum filium Enoch Esculanum virum doctum grecis et latinis litteris, familiarem nostrum, qui diversa loca et monasteria inquirat, si quis ex ipsis deperditis apud vos libris reperiretur. Idcirco nostri contemplatione velis omnes tui territorii libros sibi ostendere, antiquos presertim et prisce scripture, et simul permittere ut in tuo territorio scribi possit expensis nostris. Nolumus enim ut aliquis liber surripiatur, sed tantummodo ut fiat copia transcribendi super quibus ipse Enoch tecum loquetur latius ex parte nostra* [1].

At first, Enoch does not seem to have fulfilled the high expectations that had been formed of the prospects of his mission. Poggio, in particular, appears to have had a poor idea of his qualifications. Enoch had been a pupil of Filelfo, with whom Poggio had interchanged such courtesies as were common among the scholars of that day; and he was undertaking a task in which Poggio himself had already been more than once disappointed, notably in an effort to procure a complete copy of Livy which he had been told was to be found in a Cistercian monastery near Lübeck. In a letter addressed to Fr. Coppino, Poggio says that, in two years, Enoch had found nothing that even an uneducated person would find it worth his while to read [2]. Porphyrio's commentary on Horace and Apicius seem to have been the chief results of Enoch's early efforts. But the air was full of the rumour of new discoveries. The times were favourable, and such a mission as Enoch's was not likely to prove a failure in the end. We know from Poggio's letters to Niccolo Niccoli [3] (1425–28) that he had himself formerly been on the track of some

[1] See Voigt, Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums, ii. p. 202.

[2] *Novissime a summo pontifice missus est ad eos libros [Livi] perscrutandos Henoch Asculanus, qui adeo diligens fuit ut nihil iam biennio invenerit dignum etiam indocti hominis lectione.*

[3] See Massmann's Germania, p. 176 sqq.; Reifferscheid's Suetoni Reliquiae, p. 410; Ulrich in Eos, i. pp. 229 sqq.; and Michaelis's critical edition of the Dialogue, Praef. pp. xix–xxii.

of the hitherto undiscovered writings of Tacitus. A certain monk, who was charged with important business at the Papal Court, had once intimated to him that he knew where several volumes were to be found, one of which contained what Poggio designates as *aliqua opera Cornelii Taciti nobis ignota*—probably the codex in which the minor works afterwards came to light. The monk, who had doubtless a proper appreciation of Poggio's influence at court, as well as of his weakness for old manuscripts, undertook to furnish him with a list of books belonging to the library of an ancient German monastery, *inventarium cuiusdam vetustissimi monasterii in Germania, ubi est ingens librorum copia.* In 1427 the monk, now described as 'of Hersfeld' (Hersfeldensis) brings the promised inventory, with which Poggio is greatly disappointed. Part of it, however, he forwards to Niccolo: *Mitto autem ad te nunc partem inventarii sui, in quo describitur volumen illud Cornelii Taciti et aliorum quibus caremus: quae cum sint res quaedam parvulae, non satis magni sunt aestimandae. Decidi ex magna spe quam conceperam ex verbis suis.* The monk promised to bring him the Tacitus codex, and Poggio waited impatiently for it. But it did not arrive. In the end of 1428 he writes to Niccoli, *Cornelius Tacitus silet inter Germanos neque quicquam exinde novi percepi de eius operibus.* The Hersfeld brother came again to Rome, but without the wished-for codex, whereupon Poggio gave him a warm reception. He undertook to bring it on his next journey; but as Poggio makes no further allusion to the matter in his correspondence, we are led to conclude that the monk's tergiversation compelled him to abandon the hope he had entertained so long.

It is of course impossible now to identify the codex to which this incident relates, but we may infer with some probability that it was the one afterwards brought to light by Enoch of Ascoli. Only one copy of the *Dialogue*, along with the *Germania* and the fragment of Suetonius *de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, is known to have survived down to the days of Poggio. It became the parent of the various MSS. of those treatises which we now possess, and which can all be proved to derive from it and it only[1]. It was the discovery of this codex, in a German monastery, that rewarded Enoch's later journeyings, after his first patron Nicholas V had passed away. The authority for this statement is a note which, when he published his edition of the *Germania* and the *Dialogue* in 1841, L. Tross reported from the Leyden codex (B). This note was appended by Jovianus Pontanus (1426–1503) to the original of which the Leyden MS. is a copy, and is to the effect that Enoch's codex came to

[1] See pp. lxxxi–lxxxii.

light 'shortly after the death of Bartolemeo Facio,' who is known to have died in 1457: *paullo enim post eius mortem in lucem rediere, cum multos annos desiderati a doctis hominibus essent. Temporibus enim Nicolai quinti pontificis maximi Enoc Asculanus in Galliam et inde in Germaniam profectus conquirendorum librorum gratia hos quamquam mendosos et imperfectos ad nos retulit.* . . . Iov. Pontanus Vmber *excripsit.* On the back of the first folio of the Leyden codex the following note also occurs, though possibly in another hand: *Hos libellos Iovianus Pontanus excripsit nuper adinventos et in lucem relatos ab Enoc Asculano quamquam satis mendosos*: MCCCLX. *Martio Mense.*

These notices may be taken as fixing the date of Enoch's discovery, approximately, at 1458[1]. But though the date may be regarded as settled, other important points in the accounts we have remain still to be discussed. Where was the monastery in which Enoch found the codex in question? What was the relation of this codex to the other known codices containing the historical books of Tacitus? Did Enoch bring the original with him to Rome, or only a copy?

Three monasteries have been named as containing the library in which Enoch had his one great stroke of good fortune—those of Corvey in Westphalia, Fulda in Hesse-Cassel, and Hersfeld in the same neighbourhood. In regard to the first-mentioned, no argument can be founded on the letter addressed by Poggio to Niccoli, in which he names this monastery: *nam de monasterio Corbeio quod est in Germania non est quod speres: dicitur multos esse in eo libros: non credo rumoribus stultorum.* This was in 1420, several years before Poggio commenced his negotiations with the Hersfeld monk. On the other hand, Corvey is almost certainly known to have been the home of the codex now known as the First Medicean, before it was abstracted and conveyed to Rome in the early years of the sixteenth century. But it was from Hersfeld that the monk came, and the volumes which he held out the prospect of to the expectant Poggio were not improbably in the library which he knew best—that of his own monastery. The reason why he failed to implement his promise may have been either that Poggio did not offer enough[2], or that he found his business prospering at Rome without Poggio's help. On the

[1] It ought, however, to be stated that Voigt (see op. cit. i. 258, note) thinks that the only inference we are justified in drawing from what Pontanus says is that the minor works of Tacitus emerged somewhere and somehow between 1457–60. The reference to Enoch he considers due to a tendency on the part of copyists to connect all reappearances with that monk's recent search for manuscripts. Enoch is believed to have returned to Rome in March 1455, and Voigt doubts whether, considering his want of success in his first mission, he would have been likely to be selected for another.

[2] *Rogavit me multa: dixi me nil facturum nisi librum haberemus*, Pogg. Epist. p. 268.

other hand it may be that he had promised more than he could perform, as might very conceivably be the case if the codices which he mentioned to Poggio were the property of another monastery. It is on this theory that Fulda becomes possible. Fulda is only about thirty miles from Hersfeld, and is believed to have possessed in earlier days an ancient copy of the works of Tacitus. Indeed the only certain reference to the historian's writings before the fifteenth century is made by Ruodolphus, a monk of Fulda, of whom we are able to infer that he must have used, about the year 863 A.D., a codex containing both the *Germania* and the *Annals*, and therefore probably complete.

The point has been made the subject of numerous conjectures. Reifferscheid's latest view[1] was that Ruodolphus may have borrowed the codex from Corvey, after the fashion of that time. Others, more probably, regard Fulda itself as the home of the complete archetype which Ruodolphus used, and which must of course have been more ancient than any codex now extant. However this may be, we may be pretty certain that it was not this archetype, nor any part of it, that Enoch found. In fact it is improbable that Enoch's codex was older than the thirteenth century. This is an inference which may be fairly based on the state in which the text of the minor works has come down to us. The manuscript to which we owe their survival must have abounded in those abbreviations[2] and compendia which are absent from manuscripts of more remote date, but which by that time had been developed into a regular system. We are in this way enabled to explain the difference between the text of the early books of the *Annals*, which has been recovered from the First Medicean, and that of the *Germania* and the *Dialogue*. The latter, as also the Suetonius fragment, have suffered considerably from the ignorance of their first copyists, and especially from their inability to interpret some of the compendia referred to above. In order to gather up the various threads of the tradition of Tacitus, Ulrichs constructed the hypothesis that the codex used by Ruodolphus at Fulda (eighth or ninth century) was copied in the latter part of the eleventh century for or in the monastery of Corvey, and that the first part of this apographon was lent to Hersfeld in the thirteenth century, where after being copied it was lost. It is to the copy made at Hersfeld that we are in all probability indebted for Enoch's discovery. Through his agency, the minor works of Tacitus found their way, just about the time of Poggio's death, to Italy—probably first to Florence, and afterwards (before 1470), enlarged by the addition of the *Agricola*, to Rome[3].

[1] Suetoni Reliquiae, p. xv. [2] Cp. Roth, Suetonius, p. lxvi.
[3] Cp. Eos, ii. pp. 232 sqq.

It has already been indicated as probable that what Enoch brought to Italy was no mere copy—though his instructions from Pope Nicholas had originally been to take copies only—but the Hersfeld codex itself. Roth has stated the arguments in favour of this theory from the point of view of the Suetonius fragment (see his *Suetonius*, pp. lxv sq.). Reifferscheid, on the other hand (p. 411), argues that, while it may even have been the ancient archetype of Fulda that Enoch found, our codices are not derived from it, but from a copy made by Enoch himself or by a contemporary. The double readings so scrupulously recorded in some manuscripts he thinks are a sign of the difficulty with which the ancient manuscript was deciphered. They sometimes, indeed, diverge so widely as to suggest the possibility of the supposition that another codex may have been discovered, which was afterwards used to compare and correct the copies made from the one Enoch found; but any such theory is vetoed by the occurrence of the lacuna at the end of ch. 35 of the *Dialogue*[1], which is found in every extant manuscript, and must therefore have existed in the one and only original from which all are derived. Against Reifferscheid's theory it may be urged that the compendia which would have been used by a fifteenth-century copyist, such as Enoch or a contemporary, in transcribing an ancient MS. like the Fulda archetype, would not have been so liable to be misunderstood as those in the (supposed) thirteenth-century copy made at Hersfeld. And a note which I have to report from *Harleianus* 2639 (H), a manuscript which will be described below, seems to point in the direction of the belief that Enoch brought more than a mere copy with him to Italy. At the end of the Suetonius fragment the copyist of H has written in the margin these words: *Hic antiquissimum exemplar finit et hoc integrum videtur.* Unless it is to be taken as a mere statement of what he had been given to understand was the case, this note, occurring in a manuscript which was undoubtedly written within a few years of Enoch's discovery[2], must be regarded as evidence that the copyist of H had access to the original codex and was not merely transcribing from an almost contemporary copy.

All the existing manuscripts of the *Dialogue* derive, as has been already stated, from the codex which Enoch found. They are divided into two families, at the head of each of which is supposed to stand a lost copy of Enoch's codex, called respectively X and Y by Michaelis, N and M by Baehrens. All the available evidence goes to show that the copy X was made by a careful but unlearned scribe, and must therefore have been

[1] See p. lxxxi.

[2] See p. lxxvi.

a more or less exact transcript of his original: the copyist of Y, on the other hand, brought greater scholarship to bear on his task, and allowed himself more freedom in executing it. The X family is represented now by the *Vaticanus* 1862 (A) and the *Leidensis* (B). The Y family includes the *Farnesianus* (C), *Vaticanus* 1518 (D), *Vaticanus* 4498 (Δ), the *Ottobonianus* (E), the *Vindobonensis* DCCXI (V_2), the *Harleianus* (H), and the *Vindobonensis* CCCLI (V)[1].

The *editio princeps* of the works of Tacitus, which did not include the as yet undiscovered first six books of the *Annals*, is understood to have been printed from a codex which must have derived ultimately from the manuscript now known as the Second Medicean (*Laur.* 68, 2), generally believed to have been written at Monte Casino in the latter half of the eleventh century. It was published by Vendelin de Spira at Venice in 1470. Several MSS. of the last books of the *Annals* and the *Histories* must then have been available, some of them copied, no doubt, as soon as the Second Medicean had passed, at the time of Niccolo's death (1437), from private keeping into the library of the Convent of St. Mark, afterwards incorporated with the Laurentian Library at Florence. But none of them contained the minor works[2]. For these Spira must have been indebted to some copy of Enoch's find, by which the *Germania* and the *Dialogue*, at least, were re-united to the parent stem from which they had so long been dissevered. Such codices as the *Farnesianus* (C) and the *Vindobonensis* (V) must have resulted from the wish to combine Enoch's discovery with the already known works. It was from a codex of this class (said to have been at the time in the Library of St. Mark at Venice) that Spira printed: as far as concerns the *Dialogue*, it must have embodied many of the readings and emendations of which the earliest trace is probably to be found in the hitherto neglected *Harleianus* (H). Then came the edition of Puteolanus (Milan, 1475), in which many of the mistakes of the *editio princeps* were corrected. Puteolanus is generally understood not to have had the assistance of any manuscript (Michaelis,

[1] The heading is variously given in these MSS. as follows:—*Corneli Taciti incipit Dialogus de Oratoribus* A: *Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus incipit* B: *Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus foeliciter incipit* C: ·*C*· *Cornelii Taciti dialogus de oratoribus* D: *Cornelii Taciti Dialogus incipit de Oratoribus et Poetis* E (*et poetis* e): *Incipit Dialogus de Oratoribus* V_2: *C. Cornelii Taciti equitis Romani Dialogus de Oratoribus claris feliciter incipit* H: (*de oratoribus suis et antiquis comparatis* V). On the first folio H gives the list of contents as follows: *Suetonii Tranquilli de grammaticis et rhetoribus libri duo: C. Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de oratoribus claris.*

[2] Even the unknown codex which Poggio alludes to in a letter to Niccolo (Epist. p. 213) as one which he had once read and which he was anxious again to borrow cannot have contained anything which is not in the Second Medicean: otherwise he would not have spoken of *aliqua opera Cornelii Taciti nobis ignota* (p. lxiv).

Pref. p. i); but, though this may be true of the rest of his book, it is probable that he was acquainted with the text of the *Dialogue* as given in the *Harleianus*, and several instances of true readings hitherto ascribed to Puteolanus which are anticipated in the British Museum codex will be recorded in the commentary. Similar emendations and interpolations are to be found also in the editions of Beroaldus (1514) and Beatus Rhenanus (1519 and 1533). By employing the *Farnesianus* (C), Lipsius put the text of Tacitus on a new basis in his great edition of 1574, the popularity of which may be estimated from the fact that no fewer than ten re-issues of the work, revised by Lipsius himself, appeared at Antwerp and Leyden between 1574 and 1607. The last of these embodied the improvements made on the text by Pichena: and about the same time the labours of Muretus, Pithou, and Acidalius combined to purge the *Dialogue* in particular of many of the blemishes which even then remained upon it. The edition of Gronovius (Amsterdam, 1672 and 1685) does not indicate any independent advance. For the *Dialogue*, Brotier went back to the MSS., and used the four Vatican codices (1862, 1618, 2964, and 4498) without, however, recognizing the supreme importance of *Vat.* 1862 (A). The *codex Farnesianus* (C) still held the first place, not only in Brotier's eyes, but in those of Heumann (Göttingen, 1719), Schulze (Leipzig, 1788), Dronke (Coblenz, 1828), Orelli (Zürich, 1830), and Bekker (1831). Next, Egger collated the *codex Parisiensis* 7773, which, however, will be shown below to be a mere copy of the *Harleianus* (H). In his edition of 1841, Hess gives the readings of the *Vindobonensis* (V) as reported by Schubart. In the same year came Tross's collation of the very important *codex Leidensis* (B), which had formerly belonged to Perizonius. Of this codex, Ritter made a fresh collation for his complete edition of Tacitus (1848), and it was thereafter allowed to rank above the *Farnesianus* (C). But almost at the same time the *Vaticanus* 1862 (A) begins to emerge. Nipperdey was the first to demonstrate its superiority (Hall. *Litt. Zeit.* 1840), and in his edition of the *Germania* (1847), Massmann suspected that it must stand on at least a footing of equality with B. The same line was taken by Reifferscheid in his *Quaestiones Suetonianae* (see especially pp. 409 sqq.), and lastly, by Michaelis, in his critical edition of the *Dialogue* (1868). Michaelis had examined A for himself in the year 1858, and had come to the conclusion that it was 'integrior' than B. To A and B he adheres closely, as against the Y family of MSS. Baehrens, on the other hand, constructed his critical edition (1881) on the theory that the Y family contained a truer tradition than that of which AB are the representatives: and this theory, taken along with his own tendencies towards

arbitrary and irresponsible emendation, enabled him to produce a text which presents many points of contrast to that of Michaelis. Binde, in a dissertation to which reference will be made again (1884), supported the view of Michaelis, with variations. The latest contribution to the criticism of the *Dialogue* has been made by F. Scheuer (1891), who, in a pamphlet to which all future editors will continue to be indebted, endeavours to establish the superiority of the Y family, though on other grounds than those on which Baehrens had relied.

Before proceeding to a more detailed consideration of the subject of the distinguishing characteristics of the two families, it will be advisable to furnish here a more specific account of the various codices to which reference has already been made.

Of *Vaticanus* 1862 (A), nothing need be said in addition to what has already been stated, except that the order of its contents is (1) the *Germania*, (2) the fragment of Suetonius, and (3) the *Dialogue*. It was doubtless a faithful copy of the manuscript from which it was transcribed.

The Leidensis (B), on the other hand, in which the *Dialogue* comes first and is followed by the *Germania* and the *Suetonius*, presents several points of interest and peculiarity. It was long supposed to be the actual copy made from Enoch's codex by Jovianus Pontanus, the intimate associate of Alfonso the Magnanimous, who played a large part in the literary society of the Naples of his day[1]. It is now admitted, however, that B is not the original apographon of Pontanus, but a copy of it. It differs considerably from A, though it is impossible now to say how far the difference is attributable to the changes introduced by Pontanus himself, and how far to the copyist of B. Pontanus is known to have been an elegant and accurate scholar, and he no doubt incorporated many emendations in the text as he transcribed it. Moreover, the scribe sometimes makes corrections in his own hand, some of which are right, while others are wrong[2]. Lastly, the whole was subsequently revised by another hand, cited as **b**, the author of which is generally supposed to have had other

[1] See Symonds, Renaissance in Italy, pp. 362 sqq.

[2] Examples are given in the critical notes: the following may however be cited here as among the right corrections: 8. 12 *quoque* for *quosque*; 10. 28 *effervescit* for *effervescet*; 10. 30 *offendis* for *offendes*; 30. 7 *qua usos* for *quo ausos* (ACEV$_2$). Wrongly corrected are the following: 13. 27 *mea* for *mei*; 22. 5 *ex verbis* for *et verbis* (so HSp. Put.); 22. 6 *locosque* (with H) for *locos quoque*; 34. 8 *multumque* for *multum*; 36. 24 *cogerent* for *regerent*; 5. 23 *quadam velut* for *velut quadam*; 22. 17 *tantum eo* for *eo tantum*; 29. 15 *ullas quidem* for *quidem ullas*.

codices beside him, and even printed editions, such as those of Puteolanus and Rhenanus. The general agreement between the variants introduced by **b** and the text of the *Harleianus* would seem to point, however, to a different explanation: see p. lxxix.

The common derivation of these two codices (A and B) is obvious from the fact that the end of the twenty-fifth chapter of the *Germania* is displaced in both. Their original (X) was probably written by a scribe who was not so skilful in resolving compendia as the writer of Y: they each contain corruptions which must be attributed to the writer of X, seeing that in the corresponding places the members of the Y family give the text correctly. An excellent example of this, as well as of the tendency to emendation on the part of B, occurs in the Suetonius fragment, 127. 30, 3 (Reifferscheid), where we have *ypseũ* A, *ipseum* B, *conspectu* ECDH, for ꝯspeũ: cp. ib. 126. 30, 15 *personalem* AB, *proconsulem* E, *ꝑcons.* H, *procos.* D, *porcos* C. From the tradition of A and B, it is a much easier task to restore the text of X than it is to infer from the other existing codices what must have stood in Y. The copyist of A followed his original with the most scrupulous care, and made very few changes: hence A must be regarded as superior to B in literal accuracy of reproduction. In doubtful cases, the adhesion of the representatives of Y to the tradition of either A or B may be taken as conclusive of what must have originally stood in X.

For the Y family, Michaelis cited, in his critical edition (1868), the readings of the *Farnesianus* (C), *Vaticanus* 1518 (D), *Vaticanus* 4498 (Δ), and *Ottobonianus* (E): to these must be added the *Harleianus* (H), the *Vindobonensis* CCCLI (V), and the *Vindobonensis* DCCXI (V_2).

The *Farnesianus* (C) is one of the MSS. which must derive indirectly, except for the minor works, from the Second Medicean. It contains *Annals* xi–xvi: *Hist.* i–v, the *Dialogue*, the *Germania*, and the fragment of Suetonius. For its relation to other existing MSS. of the historical books, see Furneaux's *Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 2, 3, where it is classed with the second group of codices, from one of which Spira is believed to have printed his *editio princeps*. The addition of the minor works proves that it is not earlier than the latter part of the fifteenth century.

The two Vatican MSS. 1518 (D) and 4498 (Δ) have this in common, that they contain some minor writings, in addition to Tacitus and Suetonius. Their contents are as follows: in D we have, after Porphyrio's commentary on Horace, and a life of Persius, with the commentary of Cornutus, (*a*) the Suetonius fragment, (*b*) the *Dialogue*, and (*c*) the *Germania*. The Suetonius comes first in Δ, followed by *Pseudo-Plinii*

de viris illustribus, and (*a*) the *Agricola*, (*b*) the *Dialogue*, and (*c*) the *Germania*, &c.

The *Ottobonianus* (E) is a late codex (fifteenth or sixteenth century) with very miscellaneous contents. After *Messalae Corvini de progenie sua libellus* comes (*a*) the Suetonius fragment, and (*b*) the *Dialogue*, followed by many tractates, too various to mention. The importance of this codex was first recognized by Michaelis, but it was taken for a copy of the *Farnesianus* (C) corrected from A. This theory was disproved by Steuding[1], who erred, however, in attributing CE and Δ to a common source.

Next to E may be placed the *Vindobonensis* DCCXI (V_2), whose kinship with the *Ottobonianus* has been clearly demonstrated by Scheuer, and whose contents are equally miscellaneous. At the close of the series comes (*a*) the *Germania*, followed by (*b*) the *Dialogue*, and (*c*) the Suetonius. This codex bears date A.D. 1466. It has been designated V_2 to distinguish it from another Vienna manuscript, viz.—

Vindobonensis CCCLI (V). This codex bears the arms of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, for whom it was probably written. It afterwards belonged to Joannes Sambucus (1563). It contains the last six books of the *Annals*, the *Histories*, and (*a*) the *Germania*, (*b*) the *Dialogue*, where the addition to the title, in a later hand, of the name of Quintilian helped to forward the theory that the *Dialogue* was really the composition of the great teacher of rhetoric. For the historical books, it is in close agreement with the codex from which Spira must have printed his *editio princeps*: see Wissowa, *Lectiones Tacitinae*, Specimen Tertium, 1832. So far as the *Dialogue* is concerned, it was probably copied, carelessly enough, from a codex closely related to the *Harleianus* (H), the account of which may be postponed to p. lxxv[2].

The divergence between the two families will be made evident by a consideration of the following places:—

	AB	$CDEV_2\Delta VH$
22. 4	*oratores aetatis eiusdem*	*eiusdem aetatis oratores*
22. 7	*iam senior*	*senior iam*

[1] Beiträge zur Textkritik im Dialog des Tacitus, 1878.

[2] While H and V belong obviously to the same class of MSS., any theory that either was copied from the other is negatived by the occurrence of striking and characteristic differences, some of which will be recorded below. They agree in omitting the words [*ex his suasoriae* ... *controversiae*] at 35. 13–15, and also [*ergo non*] at the commencement of ch. 37. But at 19 ad fin. V has *et festinare se testantur*, while these words do not occur in H, as also *et audiantur* 35. 11. On the other hand there are no blank pages left in V, as in H, at the end of ch. 35: and such a variant as occurs at 19. 5 (*iudō* H for *iudicio, video* V) is enough to show that H was not copied from V: cp. 36. 1 *omisisse* H, *omisso* V; 31. 16 *incitetur* H, *concitetur* V; 16. 36, 32 *dr̃e coegerunt* H, *dicere cogerentur* V.

	AB	CDE$V_2\Delta$VH
30. 20	*artis ingenuae*	*ingenuae artis*
18. 25	*quidem autem*	*autem*
31. 20	*omnem orationem*	*orationem*
24. 12	*tantum*	*in tantum*
28. 26	*militarem*	*rem militarem*
31. 9	*haec*	*haec ipsa*
31. 36	*haec*	*haec quoque*

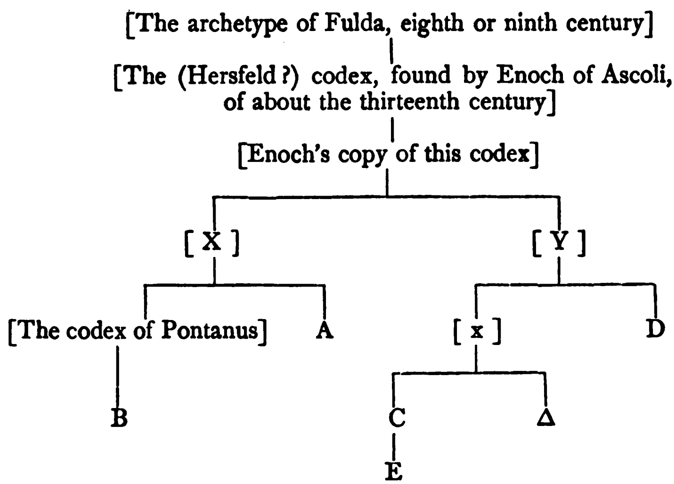
The agreement of the Y class in readings which differ from those of AB is sufficient to establish the fact, which could also be proved from the *Germania* and the Suetonius, that the MSS. cited above as composing it derive from a different original than that which is reproduced in A and B. The question which of the two families is worthy of greater credit will be discussed at the conclusion of this chapter. Meanwhile their derivation and mutual relationship may be considered.

Reifferscheid[1] was the first to disprove the generally accepted theory that A and B were direct copies of Enoch's codex, while at the head of the Y family stood a third copy, now lost, but closely related to A and B. He showed that A and B contain certain corruptions and wrong readings which do not appear in the Y family, and which, from their peculiar character, must have had their origin in a codex the writer of which had been deficient in ability to resolve the compendia in the original from which it was copied. There is general agreement now that A is a direct copy of the lost codex (X) which was transcribed either immediately from the manuscript found by Enoch, or from the copy which Enoch made. Another copy was the codex written by Pontanus, which is reproduced for us in B. The derivation and relationship of the members of the Y family have been the occasion of a greater divergence of opinion, and some of the material necessary for a decision has only lately been supplied by Scheuer in the valuable paper to which reference has already been made[2]. By a searching comparison of their various readings Scheuer has demonstrated the incorrectness of the views entertained by his predecessors, Michaelis and Baehrens, in regard to the manuscripts of the Y family. Michaelis believed that the truest representative and nearest lineal descendant of the lost codex Y was to be found in D, however carelessly copied this manuscript must be admitted to have been. Alongside of D he placed another direct copy of Y, now lost, which he supposed was the original of C and Δ, while E was believed to have been copied from C, though corrected from the Vatican A.

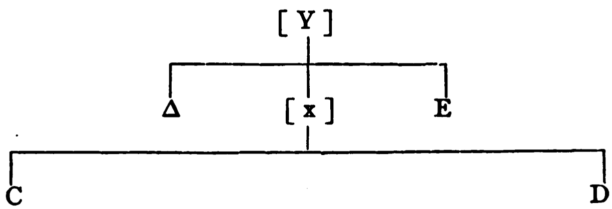
[1] Suetoni Reliquiae, p. 414.

[2] De Tacitei de Oratoribus Dialogi Codicum nexu et fide, Breslau (1891) (Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen).

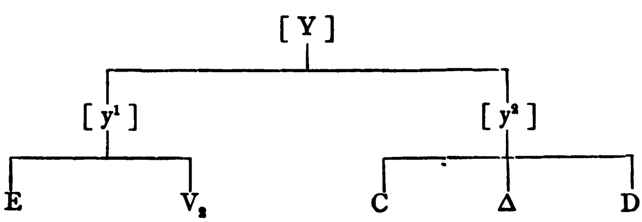
The family-tree constructed by Michaelis may be exhibited thus :—



Baehrens, on the other hand, took Δ and E for direct descendants of Y, while from a third copy of Y, now lost, he supposed C and D to have sprung,—the former before, the latter after their original had been corrected from some member of the X family. His method of representing the genealogy of the Y family is as follows :—



Scheuer has shown that both Michaelis and Baehrens were wrong. He first proves, against Michaelis, that E cannot be derived from C, and that it is impossible to believe that ECΔ are the offspring of the same parent MS., as in the table of Michaelis. His tree he gives as under :—



It was an examination of the neglected *Vindobonensis* DCCXI (V_2) that led Scheuer to his conclusions. He found that it is nearly akin to E, and almost in exact agreement with it where E shows the readings of X instead of those of its own class Y. Both therefore derive from a common source, which must have been a truer representative of Y than that to which CΔD are to be traced. The supposition that either codex was copied from the other is excluded by a list of variants in which each shows individual peculiarities of its own. Instead of E having been corrected from A or B, the opposite is the case. E is sometimes in agreement with AB, or with B alone, where V_2 does not follow it, and we may therefore infer that their original (y^1) had been corrected after V_2 was copied from it. In this emended state it was probably used by Pontanus, or by both Pontanus and the copyist of B. Scheuer next proves the common origin of CΔD, which had already been partly established by Binde [1]. Their source he designates y^2, and infers that its disagreement with $ABEV_2$ must be attributed to caprice or carelessness on the part of the copyist, while the text of the lost archetype Y may be restored by the agreement of y^1 with A and B. The fact that D often forsakes its own class to agree with A and B, where its kindred EV_2 and CΔ are in disagreement, Scheuer explains by supposing for D (or rather for its original, as Baehrens had suggested) what Michaelis had asserted for E, namely, correction out of the X family. In proof of this the following places are quoted where D has been 'contaminated' from X and Y: 30. 2 *vocantis* D, *vocatis* X, *vocant* Y; 41. 3 *quis enim quidem quod nemo* D, *quidem quod nemo* A, *quis enim* Y; 37. 19 *est habendus* D, *habendus est* X, *habendus* Y.

Some of Scheuer's conclusions rest no doubt on a superstructure of hypothesis, but his general theory marks an advance on the work of previous critics. It seems to me, however, that future speculation as to the inter-relationship of the various codices will have to take account of the hitherto neglected *Harleianus*, which is certainly of great importance for the history of the constitution of the text. I now proceed to report the result of my examination of this interesting manuscript. Its official description is as follows: Brit. Mus. Harley 2639, vellum; 8 × 5¾ inches; ff. 43, fifteenth century. Contains 'Suetonii tranquilli de grammaticis et rhetoribus libri duo,' ff. 2–14 v.: 'C. Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de Oratoribus Claris,' ff. 15–42 v. On the first folio the name of its last owner is written 'Ambrosii Bonvici, 1687.' This was Ambrose Bonwicke (1652–1722), scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1669, Librarian in 1670,

[1] De Taciti Dialogo Quaestiones Criticae: Glogoviae, 1884. See p. 7.

and Head Master of Merchant Taylors from 1686 till he was dismissed in 1691 for not having taken the oath of allegiance[1]. The MS. was bought along with six others, for the sum of £7 7*s*., from W. Bowyer, the printer, who acted as Bonwicke's executor after his death on Oct. 20, 1722. The date of the transaction is recorded as Sept. 11, 1725[2].

The *Harleianus* (H) is mentioned by Roth in his edition of Suetonius (p. lxi), and Michaelis derived his account of it from him. Baehrens also refers to it in his critical commentary, but only to deny it any authority. He ranks it after the *Parisiensis* 7773 and the *Vindobonensis* (V_2), and describes all three as 'of very recent date and vilely interpolated'—*libri quidam recentissimi foedissimeque interpolati* (p. 45). I shall be able to show, however, that the *Harleianus* takes us back to within a few years of Enoch's discovery, and that the *Parisiensis*, which was used by Pithou and included by Michaelis among the MSS. on which he founded his critical edition (1868), was directly copied from it at a date considerably later. The *Parisiensis* need not be referred to again in any discussion of the text of the *Dialogue*. It has not, and ought never to have been allowed, any independent value whatever. Perhaps the clearest proof that it is a mere copy of H may be found in the fact that at 40. 9 it omits the words [*libertatem vocabant comes seditionum effrenati*]. These words form a single line in H, and were inadvertently passed over by the copyist. The late date of the *Parisiensis* is indicated by what Pithou says in his Paris edition (1580): *in huius autem dialogi editione, praeter exemplar in Italia* ante aliquot annos *descriptum, maximo nobis adiumento fuit Lipsii nostri industria*, &c. In his commentary on 15. 2 he reports a marginal note *Eadem verba sunt Petroni*: 'in exemplari Italico ad h. l. adscriptum fuit *Eadem verba sunt Petroni* et sane quaedam initio Satyrici Petroniani quae huius disputationis aliquot locis valde consentanea sunt.' This enabled Egger[3] to identify the *Parisiensis* as the codex used by Pithou, and thus to solve a question to which he alludes as 'lis a viris doctis agitata': he found traces of the words *eadem verba sunt Petronii* in the

[1] His life of his son 'Ambrose Bonwicke, sometime Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge,' was edited by J. E. B. Mayor, Cambridge, 1870. The Dialogue is mentioned among the books which his son read in the course of his first year at the University (1710).

[2] See Humphrey Wanley's diary, Landsdowne MS. 772, f. 58 v: and cp. Nichols's Lit. Anec. i. 92, 93: 'Sept. 11, 1725, being in company with Mr. Moses Williams, he told me that he had that day seen, in the hands of young Mr. Bowyer, a small parcel of MSS. which were to be sold. Hereupon I went to Mr. Bowyer this day and bought them for my lord in his absence: they will all be marked with the date of this day. These books formerly belonged to the rev. and learned Mr. Ambrose Bonwicke, deceased.'

[3] In Zimmermann's Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft iii. p. 337, 1836. A comparison of the *Harleianus* with the collation of the *Parisiensis* given there enables me to affirm that the two codices are throughout in almost exact agreement; such minor deviations from H as

margin of the *Parisiensis* at the place indicated by Pithou. But the author of the note was not the copyist of that late manuscript, but the scholar who wrote the *Harleianus*, where it will be found in the rubric, f. 23 v. The same is true of the marginal direction at ch. 9 Σημειώσον τὰ ἤθη, and of the words *Nemus et lucus Poetarum* which are written in at the end of the same chapter[1].

Though it is impossible to say how the MS. now in the British Museum came into the hands of Ambrose Bonwicke, we are fortunately able to determine the name of its first owner, and consequently its approximate date. On the first folio of the Suetonius fragment appears a coat of arms which Mr. Warner succeeded in identifying as those of John Tiptoft, the literary Earl of Worcester (d. 1470). Tiptoft acted as ambassador to the Pope and Council of Mantua in 1459, and returned to England towards the end of 1460, after using the opportunity afforded by his residence in Italy to get together a valuable library[2]. In Florence he was taken in hand by the bookseller Vespasiano[3], and attended incognito a lecture by the renowned Argyropulos. This would be about the time when Enoch's discovery had brought the *Dialogue* and the Suetonius fragment, as well as the *Germania*, to Florence, and when scholars were busy in emending a text that was admittedly corrupt. What more natural than that the English collector should have wished to secure a copy in which, however, the first two treatises were alone included, owing to the similarity of their subject matter? The upper limit for the date of Tiptoft's acquisition of the copy in question is fixed by the time of his sojourn in Italy: the lower limit is determined by the date of his execution, October 18, 1470, after which his arms would not have been added to the codex[4]. Another factor in the calculation is the

appear in P seem to be due to the copyist having had an early printed edition before him, as well as H. At 30. 1 *patria* in P is a copyist's error for *pr̄ia* (*prima*) H: so 36 ad fin. *differentiae* P for *dr̄e* (*dicere*) H.

[1] It may be noted here that none of these occur in the *Vindobonensis* (V).

[2] Bale in his account of Tiptoft (p. 620) gives a list of his works, and adds a quotation from a funeral oration of Ludovic Carbone of Ferrara, in which among other things he says *literarum avidissimus omnes, ut ita dixerim, Italiae bibliothecas spoliavit ut pulcherrimis bibliorum monumentis Angliam exornet.*

[3] For Vespasiano's account of Tiptoft see his 'Duca di Worcestri' in Spicilegium Romanum, vol. i. (1839) p. 524.

[4] We know that Tiptoft intended to leave the manuscript under consideration, along with others, to the Bodleian Library at Oxford (see Macray's 'Annals of the Bodleian,' p. 11 and p. 400). But his intention was not fulfilled, and historians of the period mention it as matter for regret that we have no information as to what became of his literary treasures: see Voigt, Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums, ii. p. 260. In these circumstances the identification of Tiptoft's coat of arms becomes of some importance, and I append the description of it kindly supplied to me by Mr. Warner: *argent*, a saltire engrailed *gules* (Tiptoft) quartering *gules*, a lion rampant *or* (Charlton of Powys).

appearance on the last folio, in a different hand, of two couplets on the death of a dog, as follow:—

Parva zebor tibi parva domus es corpore parvus
Et brevis est tumulus et breve carmen habe.
Mapheus Vegetus.

Furum moeror heri spes quondam gone (?) catelle
Hic nunc spes furum moeror herique iaces.
L. A. 1462.

Maffeo Vegio we know as 'the single instance of a poet-philologer who assumed the cowl' (Symonds, *Renaissance*, p. 517; Voigt, ii. p. 375). Greater interest attaches to the identification of the initials attached to the second couplet. It seems probable that they are those of the well-known Leon Battista Alberti, one of the most remarkable figures in the age of the Renaissance, and a man of the most varied accomplishments. Alberti is known to have had a favourite dog, and on its death he celebrated its praises in a piece of Latin entitled 'Leonis Baptistae Alberti canis[1].' The occurrence of the couplet is of course no proof that the volume belonged to Alberti: the initials may merely refer to him as the author of the couplet, and the date may give the year in which he composed it. At the same time, as both epitaphs are in a different hand from that of the copyist, it is probable that they were added in 1462 to a manuscript that had been written a few years previously. The writer may have intended them as a memorial of Tiptoft's relationship with Alberti, and of the interest he had taken in the dog which was thus commemorated. The modesty of the initials L. A., alongside of Vegio's full name, might suggest an autograph: Alberti, after meeting Tiptoft in Rome or elsewhere, may have sent the codex after him to England, with the couplets attached[2]. He is known to have been in correspondence with Enoch of Ascoli in 1451 (see Pozzetti, *L. B. Alberti laudatus*, 1789, p. 15), and he probably kept himself informed of the results of the monk's search for manuscripts. On the other hand, supposing that Tiptoft had ordered the codex before leaving Italy in 1460, the interval of two years seems unnecessarily long.

Reference has been made already to another interesting feature in the

[1] Unfortunately he nowhere mentions the name of the dog, and it is hard to see what *gone* stands for in the couplet quoted above, unless it be some pet appellation.

[2] This supposition derives some probability from the fact that Tiptoft's arms have not been executed by the same artist as supplied the illuminated border for the folio in which they appear. They seem to have been added afterwards, possibly when the book was sent to him from Italy.

Harleianus—the occurrence at the end of the Suetonius of a remarkable note, in the hand of the copyist, *Hic antiquissimum exemplar finit et hoc integrum videtur.* Taken along with indications which go to show that the original of H must have been a MS. abounding in contractions, this must be held to render it probable that it was no mere copy that Enoch brought back with him to Italy, but his original 'find'—the Hersfeld codex—probably of the thirteenth century. If this inference is correct, a lineal descent may be established for H from the archetype of Fulda.

Perhaps the most striking internal characteristic of H is its frequent agreement with the hand in the *Leidensis* known as **b** (see p. lxx). If **b** is as late as is generally supposed, the probability is that its readings were derived from H, or from some similar copy executed about the same time. For proof of this agreement, reference might be made to the critical notes, but it may be instructive to exhibit here some of the resemblances referred to, as well as some of the differences between the two traditions.

The following examples in which H and **b** agree are probably in many cases the result of an independent attempt on the part of the copyist of H to resolve the compendia in his original. The oldest editions (Spirensis and Puteolanus) generally present the same readings:—

5. 12 *solicite* for *societate*; 5. 15 *nationes* for *necessitudines*; 5. 25 *praesidio* for *profugio*; 5. 26 *irrepat* for *increpuit*; 6. 18 *quacunque* for *quemcumque*; 7. 10 *in codicillis* for *codicillis*; 8. 7 *ipsa eloquentia* om. H, del. **b**; 12. 14 *ne aut illud clamore* for *nec ullis aut gloria maior*; 25. 8 *si quo minus* for *in qua nimirum* (?); 31. 31 *civitatem* for *comitem* (?); 33. 24 *circa oratoriam* (or *-um*) for *esse oratorum.*

Other resemblances between H and **b** are:—

5. 11 *arbitrium*; 5. 12 *sed et ipsum*; 6. 18 *induxerit*; 10. 33 rightly *hinc* (so Put.); 10. 34 wrongly *hinc* (for *haec*); 21. 3 *Canuti*; 21. 28 *quia*; 23. 7 *isti* om. H, del. **b**C; 29. 4 *et virides* om. H Put., del. **b**; *invenies* 29. 12.

On the other hand, H and **b** differ in the following places:—

7. 17 *vetat* H (Sp.), *notat* **b**, *vocat* Put.; 8. 1 *hunc Eprium* **b** Put., *hēre proprium* H; 8. 11 *haberemus* H, *habemus* **b**; 8. 12 *angustia ereptum* H, *angustiae parentum* **b**; 10. 5 *nedum* **b**, *metrum* H (Sp. Put.); 15. 6 *malignius* **b**, *malignus his* H (Sp.); 21. 15 *parte sectum* H, *parte seu* **b**; 21. 35 *rubor* H, *robur* **b**; 21. 38 *quam* **b**, *inquam* H; 25. 13 *sic* **b**, *sicut* H; 25. 16 *si iure* **b**, *sic vire* H; 31. 35 *pleraeque* **b**, *plerique* H; 32. 29 *a vobis* **b**, *vobis* H; 33. 22 *illud* **b**, *id* H (and D); 36. 20 *parabat* **b**, *probabat* H.

The copyist of H left blanks in his text (some of which have been

reproduced in the early edd.) wherever he was uncertain as to the reading. Instances are:—

7. 14 *quibus q* *et indoles est* H, *quibus morum et indoles est* V Sp. Put.; 8. 17 where the words *sunt civitatis* are omitted in HSp. Put. (and where *sunt* seems, by the way, not to be indispensable to the context); 21. 17 *et* H, for *regule* AB, which is deleted by b; 23. 2 *sensu* is left blank in H, *sus* Sp., *secundus* V, *serus* Put. (cp. 23. 21 *summum* HSp. for *sensuum*); 28. 3 *nō* HSp. Put. for *nominis controversiam*; cp. 13. 3 where the insertion of *controversiae* by H after *pericula sua et* suggests either that the true reading may be 'certamina et pericula sua et controversiae ad consulatus evexerint' or else that the reading of H is due to the misinterpretation of a compendium, such as *cent' evexer'*. Similarly in the Suetonius 102. 3, 12 Πανὸς ἀγάπημα which is variously rendered in other codd., is left a mere blank in H, introduced by a tentative *p*.

The remarkable agreement of H with the early printed editions may be made the subject of a separate paragraph, as showing the influence which the copyist exerted on the early constitution of the text. H has been shown to be of earlier date than 1470, the year in which the *editio princeps* appeared; if it was conveyed to England some eight or nine years previously, it may have been used, before being sent off, to complete, as regards the *Dialogue*, some manuscript of the family to which the *Vindobonensis* (V) belongs, and from which Spira is believed to have printed his text. The following are instances of mistakes in H, generally shared by V, and perpetuated in the early editions; omissions are indicated by square brackets. It will be noticed that many of the readings are due to misinterpretation of compendia:—

1. 3 [*eloquentiae*]; 3. 7 *si quae pravam interpretandi materiam* (written ;n above the line in H as an alternative for *si quae prava interpretamini materiam*); 3. 11 *tractatione* for *recitatione*; 3. 16 *curarum* for *causarum*; 4. 4 [*obicis*]; 4. 8 *musarum* for *causarum*; 5. 25 *prope* for *prospere*; 6. 1 *censeo* for *transeo* (emend. Put.); 6. 5 [*suam*]; 6. 7 *officiis—administrandis*; 6. 21 *affert*; 8. 10 *propriam* for *proxima*; 8. 21 *vir* for *veri*; 8. 25 *imagines attali*; 9. 6 *crebro est* for *cui bono est*; 9. 10 [*eius*]; 9. 11 [*ipse*]; 9. 28 [*suum genium propitiae*]; 11. 7 *ut niti* for *aliquid et eniti*; 14. 4 *intueri* for *interveni* (emend. Put.); 16. 9 [*eas*]; 16. 21 *perficitis* for *profertis*; 17. 22 *auctoribus* for *actionibus*; 18. 5 [*nulla parte*]; 18. 8 [*quoque*]; 18. 27 *videri* for *videntur*; 19. 6 *iudicio* (per compend. H), *video* VSp.; 19. 7 [*cum*] as D; ib. *auctorum* for *aurium*; 19. 15 *philosophiam atque* for *philosophiam videretur et*; 19. 24 *consistunt*; 20. 24 *et in fornicibus tegulisque* (emend. Put.); 21. 15 *sive in universa parte sectum*; 21. 20 *cognitionis*; 21. 26 *lentidius*; 22. 13 *ex tempore* for *excerpere*; 23. 15 *confixit* for *contingit*; 23. 21 *summum* for *sensuum*; 24. 5 *maturatus*; 24. 6 *ita mutasse non debes*; 24. 11 [*igitur*]; ib. *exprimo* for *exprome*; 25. 11 [*primae*]; 25. 15 [*et Caelius*]; 25. 22 *voluminis* for *voluntatis*; 26. 7 *ipsorum* for *temporum* (cp. 32. 12 where HSp.

and Put. have *horum ipsorum* for *horum temporum*); 28. 17 *cuiusdam* for *eiusdem*; 29. 5 *quando* for *quin*; 29. 8 [*alienique*]; 30. 9 [*assiduae*]; 31. 8 *dicimus* for *disserimus*; 31. 21 *omnibus* for *communibus*; 32. 19 *dicunt* by mistake of a compendium for *domina*, as also D; 32. 27 [*refert*]; 32. 30 [*mihi*]; 32. 33 *placuisse* for *plausisse*; 33. 13 [*quoque*]; 34. 5–7 *interesse* [*sive in iudiciis ... iurgiis interesset*]. This lengthy omission occurs in HVSp. and Put., which agree also in a similar omission at 35. 13–15 *controversiae* [*ex his suasoriae .... controversiae*]; 36. 6 *imbui* for *tribui*; 36. 7 *pleraque* for *plura*; 36. 11 *migrantium* for *magistratuum*; 36. 13 [*factiones*]; ib. *senectutis* for *senatus*; 36. 22 *hi et praeturae et consulatui vacare*; 36. 32 *coegerunt* for *cogerentur*; 37. 1 [*ergo non*]; 38. 1 *fortunam* for *formam*; 38. 6 *favebatur*; 39. 7 *sic alius* for *sic est aliquis*; 40. 1 *datum ius quoque*; 40 [*nulla in senatu .... moderatio*].

On the other hand, the following differences may be noted, caused by significant omissions in H:—

9. 3 *suis* Sp., om. H; 19 ad fin. *et festinare se testantur* VSp. Put., om. H; 20. 15 *invicem* Sp. Put., om. H; 20. 18 *decor* Sp. Put., om. H; 21. 23 *sua* VSp., om. H; 21. 29 *temporibus* Sp., om. H; 24. 2 *nostri* Sp., om. H; 25. 5 *fuisse* VSp., om. H; 30. 19 *in libris Ciceronis* Sp., om. H; 31. 9 *invicem* VSp., om. H; 31. 24 *proficiet* Sp., om. H; 35. 11 *et audiantur* VSp., om. H.

The following are interesting examples of those transpositions (reproduced in early editions) which frequently occur in manuscripts, especially where the collocation is a familiar one (cp. note on *velut quadam*, 5. 23):—

10. 2 *sui laboris*; 13. 7 *versibus Vergilii*; 18. 4 *antiquos merito*; 25. 29 *invideret Ciceroni*; 28. 16 *aliqua maior*; 34. 4 *principem locum in civitate*; 35. 9 *imperitus aeque*; 40. 16 *Athenienses plurimi.*

For the rest, it is noticeable that H, while in general agreement with the Y family, shares with D a leaning to AB, especially the former. In the places cited by Scheuer on pp. 29, 30, where ABD differ from $EV_2C\Delta$, H is generally in agreement with ABD. On the whole, the study of its peculiarities confirms the impression that neither of the two families is to be blindly followed, and that the restoration of the true text must be secured by an eclectic method. The divergences already tabulated may suggest to some a theory that there may have been more than one archetype, and that Enoch's codex is not the only one from which the text has been derived. But the strongest possible proof of the common origin of all existing MSS. is furnished by the occurrence in all of them of the lacuna noted in the text at the end of ch. 35. Some have thought that the portion of the treatise here omitted is of no very considerable extent, and may even have consisted of only a few lines; but all the

evidence, both external and internal, is against such a theory. The probable character of the sequel of Messalla's speech, and of what must have preceded ch. 36 in the archetype has already been discussed[1]. As regards the external evidence, there is a pretty general agreement among the MSS. that the lacuna under consideration extended to six folios of the archetype, which had evidently been lost before the first copy was taken from Enoch's find[2]. The proportion of the lost part to the whole has been variously calculated. Urlichs (*Eos*, ii. p. 232) thought it must have been one-tenth; Brotier, who undertook to supply what was wanting in a 'Supplementum,' took it at one-sixth; Habbe[3] has calculated it at one-seventh, arguing that the 'sex pagelle' of the MSS. must refer to the folios of the original 'archetypum Fuldense,' from which what is known now as the First Medicean is believed to have been copied. A constituent part of this last-named MS., though separated from it now, is the Medicean codex of Pliny's *Letters*, and Habbe believes that a comparison of a marginal note in the Vatican codex of Pliny (3864), which states the extent of the lacuna in the sixteenth letter of the first book as 'duae chartae,' will give the result as above calculated for the *Dialogue*. In the *Harleianus*, the copyist has carefully calculated the extent of the lacuna in the codex which lay before him, and has left blank a space corresponding to about one-ninth of the whole, no doubt in the hope that the missing part would one day turn up, when it could be incorporated with the rest.

In discussing the question whether the manuscripts of the X family, or those which derive from Y, are the more to be depended on for a scientific reconstitution of the text, careful note must be taken of their distinguishing characteristics. There can be no doubt that the copyist of Y had a better knowledge of Latin than the copyist of X, and was also more skilled in the solution of the various compendia which must have abounded in the archetype. Moreover, he was not content to follow his original to the very letter, especially where he thought he could improve on it: hence the MSS. which derive from Y show traces of a process of emendation which had begun, in all probability, with the writer of Y himself.

[1] See p. xxxvi: cp. on 36. 1.

[2] The most specific intimation of the extent of the lacuna is made in the margin of B: *deerant in exemplari sex pagelle vetustate consumptae*. A has in the margin *Hic desunt sex pagelle*; C (possibly in a later hand) *Multum deficit in exemplaribus quae reperiuntur*: Δ *hic multum deficit*: E *hic deest multum: in exemplari dicitur deesse sex paginas*; V_2 *hic est defectus unius folii cum dimidio*. In BCΔD a few lines are left blank. For H see above.

[3] See his 'De Dialogi . . . locis duobus lacunosis,' 1888, p. 7.

The result is that the reading which must have stood in the original is to be found in the MSS. of the Y family more frequently than in AB. But it is important to note that this does not necessarily imply that Y was a truer representative than X of the archetype on which they both depended, the codex found by Enoch of Ascoli, or of the copy which he may have taken from that codex. On the contrary, the conscientious accuracy with which the more unlearned copyist of X, as represented especially by A, followed the lines of his original is a guarantee of the fact that, where the two families disagree, the divergence is often due to improvement and emendation on the part of the members of the Y family. The following lists have been drawn out with the view of making clear the nature of the discrepancies: in any final judgment it is the character and probable origin of a particular reading, quite as much as the comparative accuracy of the two traditions, that ought to be carefully examined. Where A and B give a distinctive and characteristic reading, there is a reasonable certainty that they are reproducing what was before them; on the other hand, similar readings in the Y family are often due to the emendation of some individual scribe.

Leaving out of account, in the meantime, such comparatively unimportant variations as the pronouns (e.g. *illa* . . . *ista*, *iis* . . . *his*, &c.), as well as all cases where the discrepancy seems to have arisen from the misunderstanding or the neglect of compendia, and the not inconsiderable number of instances which must be classed as doubtful, we may select the following as affording striking tests of the two different traditions.

In the following places, the right reading is certainly preserved by AB, sometimes re-inforced by D or H, or by both:—

12. 10 *et malis moribus* ABDH	*et ex malis moribus* EV$_2$CΔ
21. 17 *regule* A, *regulę* BD (for *reliquae*, see ad loc.)	*illae* EV$_2$CΔ
25. 1 *praescriptam a te* ABD	*et prescriptam* E, *perscriptam et* C, *praescriptam et* V$_2$D, *a te praescriptam* H
41. 12 *obscuriorque* ABDH	*obscurior* EV$_2$CΔ

Probability is strongly in favour of the X family also in the following instances, though many of them depend on compendia which might easily have been misunderstood or neglected:—

9. 5 *deinceps* AB	*deinde* EV$_2$CΔDH
5. 2 *moderati* ABE	*modesti* CDΔV$_2$H

Here it was probably the omission of the syllable *er* in the original that gave rise to the reading of the Y class: cp. 17. 17 *fateretur* (below); also

24. 15, where *colligitur* has evidently resulted (in CΔD) from a misunderstanding of *collegit* (*collegerit* ABEV$_2$, *colligerit* H)

6. 7 *non* AB	*neque* EV$_2$CΔDH
17. 17 *fateretur* ABD, *fatetur* H	*fatebatur* EV$_2$CΔ
19. 10 *laudabat* ABDH	*laudi dabatur* EV$_2$CΔ
25. 4 *constat* ABDH	*constaret* ECΔ, *constare* V$_2$
27. 13 *perstringat* AB	*perstringit* EV$_2$CΔH, *perstrigit* D
31. 6 *haec enim est* ABH [1]	*haec est enim* EV$_2$CΔD
31. 19 *postulabit* ABDH: cp. on *explicabit* 16. 2	*postulaverit* EV$_2$CΔ
38. 9 *omnia depacaverat* A (*deparaverat* B)	*omnia alia pacaverat* (*alia omnia dep.* E)

The following, on the other hand, are the strongest instances of a greater accuracy of reproduction on the part of the Y family:—

10. 3 *sequitur* EV$_2$CΔDH (and corr. A)	*insequitur* AB
16. 21 *profertis* ECΔD: and so V$_2$ (corr. from *profercis*: *pficitis* H, *perficitis* Sp.)	*profer[i]tis* A, *proferatis* B
18. 25 *autem* EV$_2$CΔDH (and corr. B)	*quidem autem* AB
27. 11 *et cum* EV$_2$CΔ	*cum* ABD
28. 26 *ad rem militarem* EV$_2$CΔDH	*ad militarem* AB
31. 9 *haec ipsa* EV$_2$CΔDH	*haec* AB
31. 12 *in vitiis* EV$_2$CΔDH	*vitiis* B (A?) [2]
31. 36 *haec quoque* EV$_2$CΔDH	*haec* AB
41. 3 *Quis enim* EV$_2$CΔ	*Quidem quod nemo* AH (in A *Quis enim* is given above the line as a variant): *quid enim quod nemo* B: *quis enî quidē quod nemo* D

In the following places, also, the true reading is preserved by the Y family, though probably by successful emendation (as possibly some of the instances just cited, e.g. 28. 26, where the addition of *rem* to *militarem* would readily be made):—

6. 18 *induerit* EV$_2$CΔD (*induxerit* Hb)	*indueret* AB
12. 14 *ullis* EV$_2$CΔD	*ullus* AB
26. 7 *actores* EV$_2$CΔDH	*auctores* A, *a[u]tores* B
26. 15 *posse* EV$_2$CΔDH	*post se* A, *pos*se* B

[1] Gerber and Greef remark (p. 346) that *enim* always occupies the second place in Tacitus, except Dial. 30. 23 *Ita est enim* (where its position assists the emphasis of the statement) and Ann. xiv. 55, 8 *in iis enim* (the only collocation possible).

[2] Michaelis and Scheuer differ in their account of A.

26. 23 *velut* EV$_2$CΔH (and corr. B)	*vult* AB
26. 24 *incusato* EV$_2$CΔ	*in Curato* A, *incurato* BD, *in curato* H
29. 12 *invenies* EV$_2$CΔDH	*invenires* AB
35. 16 *per fidem* EV$_2$CΔD	*perfidie* ABH

Probability is strongly in favour also of:—

24. 12 *in tantum*	EV$_2$CΔH	as against	*tantum* AB
37. 19 *habendus*	EV$_2$CΔ	„	*habendus est* ABH (*est habendus* D)
41. 9 *tamen*	EV$_2$CΔDH	„	*inde* AB

Here are two cases of transposition, in regard to which the superiority of the Y reading is argued in the notes:—

	EV$_2$CΔDH	AB
22. 4	*eiusdem aetatis oratores*	*oratores eiusdem aetatis*
22. 7	*senior iam* [1]	*iam senior*
Cp. also 30. 20	*ingenuae artis*	*artis ingenuae*

It is probably the superior knowledge of the copyist that is demonstrated in:—

23. 1 *ius verrinum* EV$_2$CΔDH	as against	*ius vetrinum* AB
5. 6 *Saleium* V$_2$CΔDH, *Seleium* E	„	*Salerum* A, *$\overset{S}{G}$ aleriū* B
9. 9 *Saleium* EV$_2$CΔH, *Saltium* D	„	*Caeleium* A, *Coeleium* B

When we come to examine the places where the correct reading seems to have depended on the copyist's ability to interpret compendia and terminal abbreviations, we find a very considerable advantage on the side of the Y family. It should be remembered, however, that this is in itself no proof of the superiority of Y over X. The following is a list of the readings which are rightly given by the descendants of Y:—

2. 14 *omni* EV$_2$CΔ	*cū* ABDH
5. 15 *necessitudines* EV$_2$CΔD	*necessitates* AB (*nationes* H, edd. vett.)
5. 25 *perfugio* EV$_2$CΔD	*profugio* AB (*praesidio* H, edd. vett.)
6. 18 *quemcunque* C, *quencunque* E, *quemconque* D, *quēcuq* V$_2$	*quandocunque* AB (*quacunque* H, and b in marg.)
7. 15 *nomina* EV$_2$CΔDH	*nō* AB
9. 10 *eius* EV$_2$CΔD (om. H)	*est* AB
9. 21 *praecepta* EV$_2$ΔD	*percepta* ABCH

[1] Gudeman supports the reading of the Y class here by pointing out that 'omitting such stereotype collocations as *iam vero*, *iam pridem*, *iam dudum*, and observing that *iam* has a decided tendency to combine with *et*, *ac*, *ut*, *non*, *nisi*, *si*, *que*, and the like' the postpositive use of *iam* is the general rule in the Dialogue. Such instances, however, as 32. 30; 7. 17; 8. 17; 32. 30; 39. 6, are not to the point.

12. 8 *in illa* EV$_2$CΔDH	*et illa* AB
16. 32 *vester* EV$_2$CΔ *v̄r* H	*videtur* ABD (but in B *este* in litura)
18. 28 *veniam* EV$_2$CΔDH	*venias* A, *venia** B
Cp. with the last 20. 5 *dicentem* EV$_2$CΔDH and corr. B	*dicentes* AB
19. 29 *expectandum* EV$_2$CΔH, *expectando* D	*expectantem* AB
20. 13 *non solum* EV$_2$CΔDH	*nec solum* AB
22. 28 *quia* EV$_2$CΔDHb	*qui* AB
24. 13 *recesserimus* EV$_2$DH and corr. C	*recessimus* AB (cp. on *moderati* p. lxxxiii)
28. 14 *educabatur* EV$_2$CΔDHb	*educabitur* AB
28. 15 *erat* EV$_2$CΔH	*erit* ABD
31. 15 *ad* EV$_2$CΔ	*et* ABDH
31. 25 *permovendos* EV$_2$CΔ	*promovedos* AB, *promovendos* H, *commovedos* D
32. 14 *non* EV$_2$CΔDH	*nec* AB
37. 15 *causarum* EV$_2$CΔDb (*caȓ* H)	*curarum* AB
38. 12 *aliorum* EV$_2$CΔDH	*aliquorum* AB

The following may be doubtful, though I have had little hesitation in adopting the reading of the Y class:—

21. 36 *quia non* EV$_2$CΔD	*quia nec* AB
22. 30 *ut sumere* EV$_2$CΔD	*et sumere* AB
28. 1 *Et* ECΔDH (*t*V$_2$)	*Qui* A [*Qui*] B (*Ta* written above)
32. 22 *ergo* EV$_2$CΔDH	*ego* AB
39. 2 *rideatur* EV$_2$CΔDH	*ridear* AB

On the other hand the X family has properly interpreted compendia in the following instances:—

6. 21 *profert* AB	*perfert* EV$_2$CΔ, *proferre* D, *affert* H
8. 24 *possit* ABCH	*possint* EV$_2$DΔ
33. 7 *quid* ABD	*quod* V$_2$CΔH
Probably also:—	
6. 7 *non officii* AB	*neque officii* EV$_2$CΔDH
19. 23 *aut legibus* AB	*et legibus* EV$_2$CΔDH
31. 12 *nec . . . nec* AB	*neque . . . neque* CEV$_2$, *nec . . . neque* H
34. 35 *hodie quoque* AB	*hodieque* EV$_2$CΔD, *hodiē* H
36. 1 *vel abiectum* AB	*nihil abiectum* EV$_2$CΔDH

The probability, as regards the last passage, is that *nihil* is an emendation of the Y family: after writing *nihil* correctly in the words immediately preceding (*nihil humile vel abiectum*) AB would not be likely to make a mistake in substituting *vel* for the second *nihil*.

35. 21 must be classed as doubtful (*prosequantnr* X, *persequantur* Y) though I have adopted what seems to have been the reading of X.

In what may be considered minor matters of orthography, the advantage is sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, e. g.:—

6. 1 *iocunditas* $EV_2C\Delta$, *iucunditas* H	*iocunditatis* A, *iucunditatis* B
10. 16 *elegorum* ECΔDH, *elegarum* V_2	*elegiorum* AB
26. 23 *deminuta* $HV_2C\Delta D$, *diminuta* AE	*dimunuta* B
30. 2 *auctoribus* $EV_2C\Delta DH$	*autoribus* AB
15. 16 *concentus* ABE (for *concentu*)	*concentus* $V_2C\Delta DH$
17. 9 *statue* ABE	*statuae* $V_2C\Delta D$, *statuę* H
19. 2 *alte* AB	*altae* $V_2C\Delta D$, *altę* H
32. 22 *ut quae* ABDH	*utque* $EV_2C\Delta$
39. 5 *tabularia* ABDH	*tabulariae* V_2C, *tabularię* E, *fabularię* Δ
39. 9 *ipsam* ABDH	*ipsa* $EV_2C\Delta D$

Doubtful are 10. 21 where $EV_2C\Delta$ give *artes* and ABDH *artis*; and 22. 18 where *supellectile* has fully as good MS. authority ($ABEV_2H$) as the more correct form *supellectili* CΔD.

In the following doubtful places the true reading is established by the agreement of $ABEV_2$ as against CΔD: H supports the former in the two first instances, the latter in the third:—

$ABEV_2$	CΔD
15. 17 *aut Asinio*	*aut ab Asinio*
22. 23 *fugitet* $ABEV_2\Delta$	*fugiet* CD
37. 17 *expilatis*	*de expilatis*
33. 8 *ingressuri*	*ingressi* DHV, *ingraessi* CΔ

The following is doubtful:

17. 28 *vocetis* $ABEV_2H$	*vocitetis* CΔD

The probability here is that the reading *vocetis* is due to the neglect of a mark of abbreviation: the position is reversed at 22. 23 where *fugitet* ($ABEV_2\Delta$) is right as against *fugiet* (CD). Cp. 25. 4 where the X family seems right with *constat* (ABDH) as against *constaret* (ECΔ). On the other hand it might of course be argued that the superiority of the *vocetis* tradition points to the unnecessary insertion of a supposed omitted syllable *it* in CDΔ. The latter are often wrong where $ABEV_2$ are right (Scheuer, pp. 23, 24); though the following must be placed to their credit:—

33. 10 *arte et scientia* CΔD	*arte et inscientia* $ABEV_2H$
37. 11 *Metellos et* CΔDH (so b)	*Metellos sed et* $ABEV_2$

The foregoing lists do not include some striking variations as regards

the use of pronouns (*ille* . . . *iste*, *hic* . . . *is*) which distinguish the two families of MSS. Scheuer (after Binde) has reckoned that both agree thirty-one times in showing *ille*, and ten times in *iste*; there remain twenty places where X gives *iste* and Y *ille*[1]. Michaelis generally adhered, in his critical edition, to AB and *iste*, but was forced to accept *ille* at 30. 21 (where the pronoun is thrice repeated, *per anaphoram*), while at 6. 7 he takes *ipsos* from E, with all editors. Binde, who gives an exhaustive treatment of the subject in the second chapter of his dissertation, thought that in the Y class *iste* had been deleted 'ubi nudum, ubi ante suum nomen, ubi post primum adiectivum, si substantivo apponuntur duo adiectiva, positum erat'; but Scheuer rightly doubts how a copyist could have arrived at such a 'law,' and quotes against it the instances at 23. 7; 41. 20; 26. 6 (where there is a general agreement for *iste* in the MSS.).

It seems certain that AB cannot be invariably right, while on the other hand the Y class cannot be followed in all cases. All editors agree in altering *isti* (the reading of all the codd.) to *illi* at 41. 20; on the other hand there is no dubiety about *librum istum* 3. 6; *tragoediae istae* 3. 15; *comitatus istos* 11. 13. As in other textual difficulties, an eclectic method must be pursued in deciding between X and Y where they disagree; for instance, I accept *ista* from AB at 19. 4, and, with equal probability, *istos* at 10. 23, but reject it at 12. 16. Other passages for comparison are 13. 3; 13. 19; 21. 28; 24. 12; and 25. 5 where the Y class gives *illos* and the X class *istos*; 12. 20; 13. 1; 16. 5; 18. 7; 23. 2; and 33. 22 where Y=*illud*, and X=*istud*; 9. 20; 12. 8; 13. 19; 14. 17; 20. 4; 30. 24; and 31. 15 where Y=*illa* and X=*ista*; 4. 9 and 23. 13 where Y=*illam* and X=*istam*; 19. 9 where Y=*ille* and X=*iste*.

A similar difficulty arises (as frequently in other MSS) about the use of *iis* and *his*. Examples are: *his* most codd., *iis* B; 30. 16 *iis* AB, *his* $EV_2C\Delta H$, *hiis* D (as again at 11. 6); 34. 34 *iis* $ABC\Delta H$, *his* EV_2, *Is* D (cp. 31. 4); 42. 5 *iis* ABC, *his* EV_2DH; 14. 18 *iis* $ABC\Delta D$, *his* EV_2H; 24. 8 *iis* $ABC\Delta D$, *his* EV_2H: cp. 25. 9 *iisdem* $ABC\Delta DH$, *hisdem* EV_2; 35. 13 *his* $ABEV_2D$, *iis* $C\Delta$; 37. 9 *his* $ABEV_2DH$, *iis* $C\Delta$. The preference of C for *iis* may be noted in the last two places: cp. 5. 2 *iis* $C\Delta D$, *his* $ABEV_2H$; 8. 21 *iis* $C\Delta D$, *his* AEV_2 [*his*, with *iis* written above] B, om. H. and edd. vet

[1] There can be little doubt that this must be due to the similarity of compendia. It is remarkable, as Binde has pointed out, that AB never give *iste* at all in the Suetonius fragment, and only once in the Germania (x. 17): but the probability of misinterpretation is evident from the occurrence (Dial. 14. 17) of *iam* in $C\Delta D$ for *illa* EV_2H, *ista* AB ('= $\bar{i}\bar{a}$'): while at 19. 4 D actually shows *i* (with *a* written above) for *illa* Y, *ista* X.

The following variations may also be recorded here: 10. 33 *hinc* Hb, *hic* $ABCDEV_2$; 10. 34 *haec* $EV_2C\Delta$, *hic* AB, *hinc* Hb; 27. 2 *hoc* $EV_2C\Delta D$, *hec* AB, *hęc* D; 31. 1 *hoc* $EV_2C\Delta D$, *hec* A, *hęc* BDH.

Often, too, in regard to *ac* and *et* there is a cleavage among the MSS.; see for examples 12. 18; 16. 19; 20. 15; 23. 20; 39. 17.

Variations in the spelling of *hercule* (*hercle*) are noted on 21. 8: cp. 39. 23.

VI.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

IT remains to append what may be taken as a pretty complete bibliography of the literature of the *Dialogue*.

EDITIONS.

Apart from the early editions of Lipsius, Pithoeus and others (see p. lxix), and the more recent editions of the complete works of Tacitus (RUPERTI, 1832; WALTHER, 1833; RITTER, 1836 and 1848; ORELLI, 1848 and later), the *Dialogue* has been separately edited over a score of times, as follows:—

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[1] Dr. Gudeman promises an American edition of the Dialogue, the appearance of which will be expected with interest.

ABBREVIATIONS.

A = Vaticanus 1862.
B = Leidensis (b = *2nd hand*).
E = Ottobonianus.
V_2 = Vindobonensis DCCXI.
C = Farnesianus.
Δ = Vaticanus 4498.
D = Vaticanus 1518.
H = Harleianus 2639.
V = Vindobonensis CCCLI.
Sp. = editio princeps (1470).
Put. = Puteolanus (1475).
G. G. = Gerber and Greef's *Lexicon Taciteum* (Fasc. i–ix).
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CORNELII TACITI

DIALOGUS

DE ORATORIBUS

1. SAEPE ex me requiris, Iuste Fabi, cur, cum priora saecula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis gloriaque floruerint, nostra potissimum aetas deserta et laude eloquentiae orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat; neque enim ita appellamus nisi antiquos, horum autem temporum diserti causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur. Cui percontationi tuae respondere et tam magnae quaestionis pondus ex-

Chs. 1, 2, Introductory—*The visit to Maternus.*

1. 1. **Iuste Fabi.** Fabius Justus was a friend of Pliny the Younger, who addresses to him at least one of his letters, i. 11: possibly also vii. 2. There is also a reference to him in Ep. i. 5, 8. Nothing more is known of him, though he may be identical with the L. Fabius Justus who was consul in 102 A.D. For the inversion of *nomen* and *cognomen* (the *praenomen* being omitted), cp. 13. 9 'Secundus Pomponius,' and 'Afro Domitio.' The usage is characteristic of the Silver Age, and is especially common in Quintilian (e.g. x. 1, §§ 86, 87, 103); but it seems to have been first introduced by Varro (L. Lat. 5, 83 'Scaevola Quintus': De Re Rust. i. 2, 1 'Libo Marcius'), and is found in Cicero (de Or. ii. § 253)—frequently in his Letters. Cp. Draeger § 221.

2. **eminentium**: cp. 36. 26, 25. 7: Ann. i. 80, 8.

3. **deserta**, 'barren,' used absolutely. The figure is the same as that contained in *floruerint*.

4. **oratoris.** Cp. 15. 5 cum . . . neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes, where see note. So, of the perfect orator, Cic. de Or. 1 § 64 is orator erit mea sententia hoc tam gravi dignus nomine qui, &c.

5. **diserti.** The word is often used of 'clever speakers,' as an antithesis to *eloquens* and *orator*. So Cicero quotes (Or. § 18) a saying of Antonius, disertos ait se vidisse multos, eloquentem omnino neminem: cp. de Or. i. § 94: Quint. xii. 1, 23 (malum virum summe disertum . . . donabimus oratoris illo sacro nomine), and i. 10, 8 ('fuit aliquis sine his disertus': 'at ego oratorem volo').

causidici et advocati et patroni. These terms indicate the restriction of oratory to the sphere of judicial procedure, especially in the centumviral courts, which in former days 'splendore aliorum iudiciorum obruebantur' (38. 11). Compared with the true orator, the **causidicus**, or 'pleader,' was nothing but a 'litium advocatus' (Quint. xii. 1, 25). Hence the tone of contempt with which the word is used, as of a pettifogging attorney, in such passages as Cic. de Or. i. § 202: Juv. vi. 439 'nec causidicus nec praeco loquetur': with which cp. Petronius xlvi. ad fin., and Burmann's note. **Advocatus** frequently has the sense of 'counsel' in Quintilian, Pliny the Younger, and Suetonius: so also Ann. xi. 5, 5. For the older meaning of the word see on 34. 12.

6. **quidvis**: e.g. *actores*, 26. 7.

7. **pondus excipere.** More usual

cipere (*erit enim* aut de ingeniis nostris male existimandum, si idem adsequi non possumus, aut de iudiciis, si nolumus), vix hercule auderem, si mihi mea sententia proferenda ac non disertissimorum, ut nostris temporibus, hominum sermo repetendus esset, quos eandem hanc quaestionem pertractantes iuvenis admodum audivi. Ita non ingenio, sed memoria et recordatione opus est, ut quae a praestantissimis viris et excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter accepi, cum singuli diversas quidem sed probabiles

1. 8. *erit enim* is my conj.: *ut* all codd. and edd. *existimandum* codd.: *exist. sit* Lipsius and edd. 10. *mea mihi* Schulting: but cp. mihi satis superque, 4. 8. 15. *diversas quidem sed probabiles* V_2 (*eas quidem* Baehrens), *diversas vel easdem sed prob.* most codd., *diversas sed easdem prob.* Roth, Andresen, John, Wolff, [*vel easdem sed prob.*] Halm, *diversas rei eiusdem sed prob.* J. H. Müller, *non easdem sed probabiles* Heller.

would have been *onus suscipere* (Cic. de Or. i. § 116: Quint. x. 2, 19): *excipere* contains, however, the idea of taking the 'burden' over from Fabius.

8. **erit enim . . . existimandum.** This parenthesis (cp. 11. 3) is adopted in preference to the traditional reading, which involves an awkward continuation of the idea contained in *tam magnae quaestionis pondus*. *Erit* (possibly *est*) may easily have run into the preceding excip*ere*, whereupon the well-known contraction for *enim* would be mistaken for a *u* (ut).

9. **iudiciis,** 'taste.' Cp. 'auribus et iudiciis,' 20. 20.

10. **ac non,** 'instead of': Hist. i. 40, 8: Ann. vi. 2, 2.

11. **ut nostris temporibus.** This restriction shows that, in the writer's opinion, the unfavourable estimate of contemporary eloquence implied in the question addressed to him by Fabius Iustus was not without foundation. Cp. optimi et in quantum opus est disertissimi viri, 41. 19.

repetendus. Cp. the frame-work of Cicero's de Oratore, i. § 23 repetam . . . ea quae quondam accepi in nostrorum hominum eloquentissimorum et omni dignitate principum disputatione esse versata.

12. **iuvenis admodum.** See Introd. p. xv. From a comparison of other places in Tacitus where this phrase is used (esp. Agric. vii. 9: cp. Hist. ii. 78, 9; iv. 5, 42), it seems that it may be taken as meaning about twenty years of age. So Quint. viii. 3, 31.

13. **memoria** retains, **recordatio** recalls: Cic. Brut. § 9: Tusc. v. § 88. See Prof. Wilkins's note on 'recordatione et memoria,' Cic. de Or. i. § 228.

15. **accepi.** This verb is much more frequently used of knowledge acquired by tradition, or at second hand, than (like *excipere*) of what is heard from the very lips of a speaker. For the former cp. *accipere* in 12. 18, 28. 23, 30. 8, 40. 13: for the latter *excipere*, 2. 9, 15. 3, 29. 14: Agr. xlv. 19: Hist. iii. 85, 5. But the comparison of such passages as these is not a sufficient justification of Gudeman's proposal (Amer. Journ. of Phil. vol. xii. p. 327) to alter the reading of the MSS. to *e* praest. viris . . . *ex*cepi. Against his belief in an invariable distinction between the two compounds, it is sufficient to quote Ann. i. 67, 2 dicta cum silentio accipere: Hist. iii. 65, 1 haudquaquam erecto animo eas voces accipiebat. In Cicero, too, we find 'id, quod ipse (sc. Pericles) ab Anaxagora, cuius auditor fuerat, acceperat,' de Rep. 1 § 25: and even 'ut Romae *ex* istius amicis *acce*peram,' in Verr. ii. 4, 136.

singuli seems to refer only to those interlocutors in the dialogue who admitted the decline implied in the question with which the treatise opens, though they had different explanations to give of it: see especially the speeches of Messalla (25–35), and Maternus (36–42). Others think that Aper also is included: but though Aper knows the difference between 'ancient' and 'modern' oratory, he emphatically denies the existence of any decline. Aper is referred to (appropriately enough after 'disputationis') in the sentence beginning 'Neque enim defuit qui': the whole context shows that, up to that point, the writer is thinking only of those interlocutors in the dialogue (probably

causas adferrent, dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent, isdem nunc numeris isdemque rationibus persequar, servato ordine disputationis. Neque enim defuit qui diversam quoque partem susciperet, ac multum vexata et inrisa vetustate nostrorum temporum eloquentiam antiquorum ingeniis anteferret.

2. Nam postero die quam Curiatius Maternus Catonem reci-

17. *redderent* AB, *redderet* CΔDH, *reddent* E, *reddēt* V_2. *persequar* H and Put.: *prosequar* cett. codd.

including Secundus) who took the same ground as Fabius did in his question.

15. **diversas quidem sed probabiles.** On this reading, *vel easdem* is rejected as a gloss added by some one who wished to indicate that the arguments advanced by the different speakers are identical. This is true only so far as they agree in admitting the fact of the decline implied in the question of Fabius Justus. See Introd. p. xxxi. For 'probabiles causas adferre' cp. Ann. vi. 14, 9.

cum . . . dum. For the dependence of the latter on the former, though in a rather different construction, cp. Ann. xii. 68, 2 cum . . . obtegeretur, dum . . . componuntur. The subj. **redderent** is motived by the mood of the foregoing subordinate clause.

16. **animi . . . ingenii,** 'heart' and 'mind,' 'feeling' and 'understanding': cp. 21. ad fin., Cic. de Or. iii. § 5. Tr. 'reflecting in each case the constitution of.' For *formam* cp. Agr. xlvi. 10.

17. **redderent.** The variant *redderet* might be supported from Germ. xvi. 5; but for instances of Tacitus's preference for the plural in similar cases cp. on *adferant*, 35. 8. So 'quisque componerent' Ann. vi. 16, ad fin.

numeris, here simply of the successive divisions in which the subject must be dealt with. Cp. Cic. de N. D. ii. § 37 mundum . . . perfectum expletumque omnibus suis numeris et partibus: Quint. x. 1, 70. See note on 32. 8, per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse. Tr. 'in the same stages and with the same demonstrations.' There is a kind of analogy in Eur. Electra, 772 ποίῳ τρόπῳ δὲ καὶ τίνι ῥυθμῷ φόνου; In the text, however, the **rationes** are the grounds, or principles, on which the arrangement of the parts is based. **Servato ordine disputationis** is added only to emphasize the statement that nothing has been altered in the 'vices loquendi.'

18. **enim is suggested by** *disputationis.*

diversam . . . partem. Of Aper, Maternus afterwards says: 'et ipse satis manifestus est iam dudum in contrarium accingi nec aequo animo perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam' 16. 11.—For Aper's eulogy of the 'modern' school of eloquence, see chs. 16–23.

20. **antiquorum ingeniis.** *Antiquis,* by itself, would have been quite a usual metonymy: cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 4 nostrorum hominum prudentiam Graecis (i. e. Graecorum prudentiae) anteferre. There is a real antithesis (not, as here, one motived merely by the wish for symmetry) in Agr. xxi. 7 ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre.

2. 1. **postero die,** &c. Cp. the circumstances of the renewal of the discussion in the de Oratore ii. § 12 Postero igitur die quam illa erant acta . . . repente eo Q. Catulus senex cum C. Iulio fratre venit.

Curiatius Maternus is known to us only through this treatise. He has now abandoned the profession of rhetoric, and is devoting himself to the composition of tragedies, four of which are named, *Medea, Thyestes, Domitius, Cato.* From the allusion in the text (cp. 11. 19), many have been led to infer that he is identical with the Μάτερνος σοφιστής who was put to death by Domitian in 91 for too great freedom of speech (Dion Cass. lxvii. 12). See however Introd. p. xxxvii.

Catonem. The praise of Cato of Utica was traditional at Rome from the day of his death. Cicero wrote a 'Cato' (ad Att. xiii. 46, 2: Tac. Ann. iv. 34, 20: Gell. xiii. 19), to which Caesar replied in an 'Anticato' (Plut. Caes. liv. 733: Gell. iv. 16), consisting of two books (Suet. Iul. lvi.: Juv. vi. 338) in the form of speeches ('rescripta oratione velut apud iudices respondit,' Ann. l. c.). Cp. Hor. Od. i. 12, 35 ('Catonis nobile letum'): Lucan, Phars. i. 128 'victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni,' and ii. 380 sqq.: Seneca, Epp. 24, 10: 25, 6: 79, 14: 97, 8: 104, 29 sqq.

taverat, cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur tamquam in eo tragoediae argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonem cogitasset, eaque de re per urbem frequens sermo haberetur, venerunt ad eum Marcus Aper et Iulius Secundus, celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri, quos ego non modo in iudiciis utrosque studiose audiebam, sed domi quoque et in publico adsectabar mira studio-

2. 2. *tamquam non in* Sauppe. 3. *sui* codd.: *obsequii* Buchholz, *saeculi sui* Baehrens. 6. *in iudiciis non utrosque modo* codd.: [*utrosque*] Ritter, Halm, *non in iudiciis modo utrosque* Nipperdey, *utrosque non in iudiciis modo* Schopen, *in iudiciis non modo ut plerosque* J. H. Müller.

2. **potentium,** i. e. Vespasian, and the circle of favourites referred to in ch. 8. His treatment of Helvidius Priscus shows that even the mild founder of the Flavian line could resent the exhibition of republican sentiments. For the expression, cp. Quint. ii. 20, 8 cum periculosa potentium offensa.

tamquam c. subj. is often used by Tacitus (like *quasi* and *velut*) to introduce an opinion or statement advanced by others (Draeger § 179: Wölfflin, Philol. xxiv. 115–123): 10. 27 tamquam minus obnoxium sit. Cp. Ann. i. 12 ad fin. 'invisus . . . tamquam plus quam civilia agitaret: ii. 84, 3: 'tamquam misererentur' Agr. xxxviii. 7.

in eo tragoediae argumento = in eius tragoediae argumento. For the inversion cp. Cic. in Verr. ii. 4 § 100 permotus illa atrocitate negotii.

3. **sui oblitus,** 'without thinking of himself,' i. e. of the risk he was running. There is no imputation that Maternus forgot or belied his character for outspokenness and plain dealing. This is evident enough,—in spite of his general mildness, and his acquiescence (40.) in the limitations imposed on contemporary eloquence—from his reference to his early success with Vatinius (11. 10), his appreciation of the 'antiqua libertas' (27. 12), his caustic remarks about Crispus and Marcellus (13. 10), and his calm announcement of his Thyestes (3. 11): see Introduction p. xxxviii. In any case such an imputation would have been a strange one to make against a dramatic poet. The fact is that *sui oblitus*, while antithetical in form, is really subordinate to *tantum Catonem cogitasset*. There is thus no need for the otherwise ingenious conjecture *obsequii*, which might however be defended on palaeographical grounds.

Catonem . . . cogitasset = Catonis mentem induisset et expressisset, G. and G. *Cogitare* is of course frequently used with an acc., but the parallels cited by editors are hardly so strong: cp. however Seneca, de Ben. iv. 31 dum veterem illum Scaurum cogitas: Plin. Ep. iv. 2, 2 Incredibile: sed Regulum cogita.

5. **Marcus Aper,** like many other rhetoricians of this period, was of Gaulish origin (cp. 10. 6 ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar). From ch. 17 we learn that he had served in Britain, possibly, like Tacitus's father-in-law Agricola, under Suetonius Paulinus. By the date at which this Dialogue is supposed to have taken place (74–5) he had already made his way to the praetorship. See Introd. p. xxxii.

Iulius Secundus was also a Gaul, but a man of a different stamp from Aper. He was much admired by Quintilian, who praises him for 'elegantia' xii. 10. 11: a fuller criticism will be found ib. x. 1, 120 and 3 § 12, where see my notes. From the former of these two passages it seems that he was dead when Quintilian wrote his Tenth Book. He is probably identical with the rhetorician mentioned by Plutarch as Otho's chief secretary: Σεκοῦνδος ὁ ῥήτωρ, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γενόμενος τοῦ Ὄθωνος (Otho 9). See Introd. p. xxxv.

celeberrima . . . ingenia. Cp. Quint. x. 1. 122 sunt enim summa hodie, quibus inlustratur forum, ingenia (Aper, Marcellus, Maternus, Aquilius Regulus, Pliny, and Tacitus himself).

6. **quos ego non modo . . . audiebam.** I base the reading given in the text not only on the consistent usage of Tacitus in *non modo* clauses (G. and G. p. 854 b), but also on the fact that it explains the corruptions of the MSS. In Tacitus, *non modo* always stands in close relation to the word or words which form the antithesis,—here *in iudiciis*, which cannot be a gloss. Nipperdey was therefore nearly right in suggesting, 'quos ego non in iudiciis modo utrosque'; but it is more

rum cupiditate et quodam ardore iuvenili, ut fabulas quoque eorum et disputationes et arcana semotae dictionis penitus exciperem, quamvis maligne plerique opinarentur nec Secundo promptum esse sermonem et Aprum ingenio potius et vi naturae quam institutione et litteris famam eloquentiae consecutum. Nam et Secundo purus et pressus et, in quantum satis erat,

9. *ditionis* E, *eruditionis* V_2. *acciperem* EV_2.

satisfactory to suppose that, in the archetype, the words *in iudiciis utrosque* were accidentally omitted by the scribe, and were written in above the line (quos ego
in iudiciis utrosque
non modo studiose audiebam), and that subsequently *in iudiciis* was taken in after *ego* and *utrosque* between *non* and *modo*. **Utrosque** need not be suspected: it serves, coming after *in iudiciis*, to indicate the separate activity of the two pleaders ('the one as much as the other'): they would not usually appear together. It is common enough of a pair of individuals, e.g. Ann. xvi. 11, 11 illa utrosque (patrem et aviam) intuens. For *non modo . . . sed quoque*, which is classical, but rare, Draeger (§ 128) compares Hist. i. 57: Liv. ix. 3, xxxvi. 35: Curtius: Gellius.

7. **adsectabar.** So Quintilian (in Plin. Epp. ii. 14, 10) Adsectabar Domitium Afrum.

8. **fabulas.** Their ordinary conversation, or casual talk (cp. 23. 11, 39. 4) as opposed to set discussions (**disputationes**) on such questions as that which forms the subject of the Dialogus. These discussions they would no doubt hold with others, as well as between themselves when they met.

9. **arcana semotae dictionis.** The commentators generally refer this expression to the rehearsals (domesticae exercitationes, Sen. Contr. i. praef. 12) with which the rhetorician would favour his 'cercle intime' before any public appearance, in order to have the benefit of advice and criticism. But Church and Brodribb are nearer the mark in rendering 'their private and esoteric discourse:' *semotae* sc. ab auribus alienorum hominum, *or* a ratione fori et iudiciorum. There is a touch of the enthusiastic pupil in 'arcana,' the substantival use of which is common enough in Tacitus: so 'litterarum secreta,' Germ. xix. 3. For *dictio*, cp. 10. 31 fortuitae et subitae dictionis impetu.

penitus seems more appropriate in such phrases as 'penitus infixum,' Ann. ii. 76, 10: xv. 5, 8. Cp. however 80. 16 omnes philosophiae partes penitus hausisse: Ann. ii. 12, 12 penitus noscendas mentes. In Agr. xlv. 19 we have the fuller expression 'Excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus.'

10. **quamvis**, with a subj. of fact, as often also in Suetonius and later writers: cp. Ann. i. 68: ii. 38: xi. 20: Hist. ii. 59, 79, 85: iv. 11 (Dr. § 201).

plerique, 'many,' 'very many,' as often in Tacitus, and also in Quintilian (cp. Introd. to Book x. p. xlvi). So 10. 26 and 26. 10: also (adjectivally) 17. 23 plerosque senes, 31. 35. But in 26. 7 (plerique . . . actores) the meaning may be 'most.' Many instances in Tacitus are doubtful: G. and G. p. 1125. Cp. on *plerumque* 6. 8.

nec . . . et, 4. 3; 33. 11.

11. **promptus.** Cp. Juv. iii. 74 sermo promptus et Isaeo torrentior: along with *profluens* (as below) Ann. xiii. 3, 12 Augusto prompta ac profluens . . . eloquentia fuit.

ingenio . . . institutione. Cp. the antithesis implied in 'ingenium ac studium' 14. 8: also 19. 5 and 16. 3.

13. **Nam** explains *maligne* above, and also the preceding eulogy of Aper and Secundus.

purus . . . pressus. Plin. Ep. vii. 9, 8 'pressus sermo purusque.' The same qualities are indicated in Quint. x. 1. 94 'tersior ac purus magis' (Horatius): cp. 1. 9. 2 sermone puro et nihil se supra modum extollente. For **pressus** (premo) cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 96 where 'oratio pressior' is opposed to 'luxuries quaedam quae stilo depascenda est,' and below 18. 19 inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus sed supra modum exsultans: see on Quint. x. 1, 44.

in quantum for the more usual *quantum*, as again at 41. 19: Ann. xiv. 47, 2: xiii. 54, 5. So Ov. Met. xi. 71: Quint. ii. 10, 4 (in quantum maxime potest), xi. 3, 118, ix. 4, 16, viii. 6, 24: Velleius, Seneca, Pliny the Younger, and later writers.

profluens sermo non defuit, et Aper omni eruditione imbutus contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat, tamquam maiorem industriae et laboris gloriam habiturus si ingenium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti videretur.

3. Igitur ut intravimus cubiculum Materni, sedentem ipsumque quem pridie recitaverat librum inter manus habentem deprehendimus.

Tum Secundus 'Nihilne te' inquit, 'Materne, fabulae malignorum terrent quo minus offensas Catonis tui ames? An ideo librum istum adprehendisti ut diligentius retractares et, sublatis si qua pravae interpretationi materiam dederunt, emitteres Catonem non quidem meliorem, sed tamen securiorem?'

Tum ille '*Intel*leges tu quidem quid Maternus sibi debuerit,

14. *omni* $EV_2C\Delta$, *cū* ABDH (cp. 13. 14), *communi* Rhenanus. 17. *inniti* ABCΔD, *adniti* corr. A and B,EV_2, *initi* H.

3. 1. *ipsumque quem* reviewer of Walther's ed. in Leipz. Lit. Zeit. 1833, p. 1898: *ipsum quem* codd. Others *ipsum et quem*: perhaps *et ipsum quem*. 2. *inter* Cujas: *intra* codd. 9. *Intelleges tu quidem quid* is my conj.: *leges tu quid* $ABDEV_2$, *leges tu quidem* H edd. vett., *leges quid* C, '*leges*' *inquit* '*quid* Halm, *leges, inquit, si libuerit* Nipperdey, *leges tu quae audisti et agnosces quid Maternus sibi debuerit* Baehrens.

14. **profluens.** As generally with *purus* (Cic. Brut. § 274 ita pura [sc. oratio] ut nihil liquidius), the metaphor is from a running stream: cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 159 genus sermonis non liquidum, non fusum ac profluens: ib. § 64 fusum atque tractum et cum lenitate quadam aequabiliter profluens: Tac. Ann. iv. 61, 6 Haterii canorum illud et profluens (as also in Cic. de Or. iii. § 28, of Carbo).

imbutus. So 31. 33 grammatica, musica, geometria imbuebantur: cp. note on 19. 21. The ablative at 34. 2 may be slightly different.

15. **contemnebat.** Cp. what Cicero says of Crassus and Antonius and Greek learning (de Or. ii. § 4) 'non tam existimari vellet non didicisse quam illa despicere,' sqq.

tamquam, with fut. part. (like ὡς), as Ann. xii. 49, 5 tamquam recuperaturus, and vi. 36, 4. Aper 'thought that his reputation for zealous professional application would be greater if,' &c.

16. **industriae et laboris**: Cic. Brut. § 237: ad Fam. xiii. 10, 3. For such synonyms, see Introd. p. li.

17. **alienarum artium** 'extraneous accomplishments,' everything outside his profession, e.g. philosophy, 31. 25 sqq. See Introd. p. xxxii, note.

Chs. 3–4. *Aper's criticism of Maternus.*

3. 1. **intravimus.** The inclusion of Tacitus himself among the visitors of Maternus is to be explained from 'adsectabar,' &c. in the preceding chapter.

2. **inter manus** = in manibus: cp. Ann. iii. 16, 1 visum inter manus Pisonis libellum: Plin. Epp. ii. 5, 2 nihil enim adhuc inter manus habui. So Verg. Aen. xi. 311 Ante oculos interque manus sunt omnia vestras.

5. **quo minus** after *terreo*, as Hist. i. 40, 12. So after *deterreo*, Hist. ii. 41, 10; iv. 71, 21: also in Cicero, Livy, and Curtius.

offensas Catonis tui. 'Your exasperating Cato.' He was to take a warning from the fate of Cremutius Cordus, Ann. iv. 34: cp. Quint. x. 1, 104.

ames. Ovid, Trist. iv. 1, 30 Et carmen, demens, carmine laesus amo.

7. **pravae interpretationi materiam,** 'a handle for misconstruction.'

8. **non quidem meliorem.** The more usual order would be *non meliorem quidem*, or *non illum quidem meliorem*: cp. pulchri quidem, 9. 13.

securiorem, 'less open to attack,' 'safer,' 'less risky': Hist. i. 1, 18 uberiorem securioremque materiam.

9. **Intelleges.** 'You, Secundus (cp. on

et adgnosces quae audisti. Quod si qua omisit Cato, sequenti recitatione Thyestes dicet; hanc enim tragoediam disposui iam et intra me ipse formavi. Atque ideo maturare libri huius editionem festino, ut dimissa priore cura novae cogitationi toto pectore incumbam.'

'Adeo te tragoediae istae non satiant,' inquit Aper 'quo minus omissis orationum et causarum studiis omne tempus modo circa Medeam, ecce nunc circa Thyestem consumas, cum te tot amicorum causae, tot coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae in forum vocent; quibus vix suffeceris etiam si non novum tibi ipse

19. *suffeceris* most codd.: *sufficeres* H and Put.

5. 1), will appreciate my attitude. I have made no changes. More than that: "Thyestes" will supplement "Cato."'—It is impossible to explain the indirect clause grammatically, without resorting to the easy change from *leges* to *intelleges* (cp. Quint. x. 3, 20): *leges* can hardly be construed as = *legendo cognosces* (as Halm, John). The pf. *debuerit* is quite appropriate: 'what I considered my bounden duty.'

11. **hanc enim**, 'that is the name of the tragedy which I have shaped in outline and planned in my head.' Maternus is here giving his friends a piece of news: cp. *ecce nunc*, below.

12. **intra me ipse.** Ann. xiv. 53, 17 ut plerumque intra me ipse volvam: Quint. xi. 3, 2 quae intra nosmet ipsos composuimus.

maturare . . . festino. If *maturare* is used here as = 'accelerate,' 'hurry on' the publication of (as often in Tacitus with 'caedem' and other accusatives), there is a slight pleonasm. But others take it as = *perficere, ad finem perducere.* This does not go so well, however, with *editio* (though *editio* is coming to have a concrete sense in Quint. v. 11, 40: xii. 10, 55).

13. **cura,** of a book, Ann. iii. 24, 11 si effectis in quae tetendi plures ad curas vitam produxero, iv. 11, 17 quorum in manus cura nostra venerit: cp. Ovid, ex Ponto, iv. 16, 39. Of a speech, 6. 23 below.

toto pectore incumbam. Ovid, ex Ponto, iii. 1, 39 pectore te toto cunctisque incumbere nervis. For the dat. after *incumbere*, see Quint. xi. 3, 1.

15. **quo minus.** The constr. is 'non satiant (sc. neque impediunt) quo minus,' or 'satietate non deterrent quo minus,' &c.: lit. 'you have not, then, had so much of tragedy as to prevent you from,' &c. For other cases of an ellipse with *quo minus* and *quin*, cp. Ann. iv. 51, 18, reliquis quo minus . . . subigerentur . . . hiems subvenit (sc. et impediebat): ib. vi. 38, 2 non enim Tiberium . . . tempus preces *satias* mitigabant quin . . . puniret: xiii. 14, 9: Agr. xxvii. 8 nihil ex arrogantia remittere quo minus iuventutem armarent: ib. xx. 6 nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur. The analogy of the last two passages especially shows that the text ought to be rendered: 'Then you have not had enough of those tragedies of yours. Turning your back upon . . . you spend your whole time,' &c. Somewhat similar is Soph. Phil. 339 ἀρκεῖν . . . ὥστε μή.—**Adeo** stands by itself at the beginning of the sentence, which is sometimes exhibited as interrogative in form ('Is it so true, then, that, &c.): cp. Ann. xi. 16, 17: Hist. iv. 58, 8.

16. **modo . . . nunc** = *modo . . . modo*, as Hist. ii. 51, 2; iii. 85, 1. **Ecce** comes in naturally before *nunc*, as Aper has just heard of the 'Thyestes' for the first time. But otherwise there is no indication of the sequence of the plays, though some have thought that the context would have led us to expect 'Catonem' in place of 'Medeam.' Aper keeps the 'Cato' to the end, in order that he may set it (alongside with the 'Domitius') over against the 'Graeculorum fabulae,' i. e. dramas like the 'Medea' and the 'Thyestes' which only gave a new presentment of subjects that had been treated scores of times before.

circa, as at 22. 11; 28. 12: Ann. xvi. 8. 11 circa summa scelera distentum: Germ. xxviii. 14: Hist. i. 13, 5. So frequently in Seneca and Quintilian: see note on Quint. x. 1, 52. Cp. the use of περί, ἀμφί with the accusative in Greek.

19. **suffeceris,** potential: you could

negotium importasses, Domitium et Catonem, id est nostras quoque historias et Romana nomina Graeculorum fabulis adgreg*ando*.

4. Et Maternus: 'Perturbarer hac tua severitate nisi frequens et assidua nobis contentio iam prope in consuetudinem vertisset. Nam nec tu agitare et insequi poetas intermittis, et ego, cui desidiam advocationum obicis, quotidianum hoc patrocinium defendendae adversus te poeticae exerceo. Quo laetor

20. *Domitium* codd., *ut Domitium* Niebuhr. 21. *graecorum* B. *adgregando* is my conj. (cp. 4. 5, where H has *defendēs* for *defendendae*, also 41. 2 where all codd. give *emendare* for *emendatae*): *aggregares* ABCΔDH, *aggregarem* E, *adgregarem* V_2, *aggregare* Pithoeus, *aggregans* Orelli. Possibly *adgregandi*: see Introd. p. lvii.

hardly meet the demand, even if you had kept to the traditional type of tragedy,—instead of encumbering yourself, &c.

19. **novum negotium.** This does not necessarily imply that Maternus had only lately taken up such subjects: like the 'Medea' (ch. 9), the 'Domitius' was probably one of his earlier dramas. His historical dramas are 'new' in the sense of being unlike the conventional models drawn from Greek mythology,—unlike even the 'praetextatae' of earlier poets. (See Schoell, Commentationes Woelfflinianae, pp. 395–6). They were *καιναὶ τραγῳδίαι*, subjects treated for the first time, new 'history-plays' bases on scenes connected with the Fall of the Republic.

20. **importasses** = imposuisses, iniunxisses. The word occurs in Tacitus only here: in Cicero and Livy it is common enough in such phrases as 'incommodum, periculum, detrimentum (sibi, aliis) importare.' So also Pliny N. H. xxvi. 9. Tr. 'if you had not burdened yourself with a fresh task, by' &c.

Domitium. Probably L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul B. C. 54, and a consistent opponent of Julius Caesar. He was pardoned after the capture of Corfinium, but rejoined the Pompeians, and fell at Pharsalus. Lucan selects him for eulogy in compliment to his descendant Nero: Phars. vii. 599–616.—I am not convinced by the arguments with which Schoell supports his proposal (Comm. Woelff., p. 396 sq.) to understand the allusion to be to Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (the 'Enobarbus' of Shakespeare's 'Antony and Cleopatra'), though his career had greater elements of romance in it than that of his father.

id est: so ch. ix. ad fin.: 22. 8: Germ. xl. 6.

21. **adgregando.** The frequent instances of the misinterpretation of compendia (especially terminations) in the Dialogue, as well as Tacitus's fondness for this construction, have led me to insert *adgregando* in the text, in place of Niebuhr's *ut . . . adgregares.* Cp. concedendo 11. 5: componendo 14. 20: docendo 33. 14: adiciendo Ann. v. 6, ad fin.: other exx. in D^r^. § 203. Cp. Introd. p. lvii.

4. 1. **frequens et assidua.** For other instances of this Ciceronian amplitude, see Introd. p. li.

2. **in consuetudinem vertisset.** Cicero frequently uses *venire in consuetudinem*: e. g. pro Caec. § 6 quod quoniam iam in consuetudinem venit. For the intransitive use of *vertere* (frequent in Tacitus) cp. Hist. iv. 27, 6 quod tum in morem verterat: Germ. xxxi. 2 in consensum vertit: Sall. Iug. 85. 9 bene facere iam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit.

3. **agitare et insequi.** Cic. pro Mur. § 21 agitat rem militarem, insectatur totam hanc legationem.

4. **desidiam advocationum,** 'neglect of my professional duties.' Such a genitive occurs nowhere else with *desidia,* though common enough with *incuria, neglegentia,* &c.

5. **defendendae . . . poeticae.** The gerundive is an epexegetic genitive, showing in what the *patrocinium* consists, as solitum effugium prorumpendi, Ann ii. 47, 3, cultus . . . venerandi, ib. iii. 63, 12: cp. iv. 2, 10: if it had not been for the insertion of 'def. adversus te' the words 'hoc patrocinium poeticae' might have stood by themselves. See Roby, Pref. lxvii, where 'oratores pacis' and 'oratores pacis petendae' are shown to be equivalent: cp. also Cic. in Verr. ii. 4. 113 propter eam causam sceleris istius. The use of the legal

magis oblatum nobis iudicem qui me vel in futurum vetet versus facere, vel, quod iam pridem opto, sua quoque auctoritate compellat ut omissis forensium causarum angustiis, in quibus mihi satis superque sudatum est, sanctiorem illam et augustiorem eloquentiam colam.'

5. 'Ego vero' inquit Secundus, 'antequam me iudicem Aper recuset, faciam quod probi et moderati iudices solent, ut in iis cognitionibus *se* excusent in quibus manifestum est alteram apud eos partem gratia praevalere. Quis enim nescit neminem mihi coniunctiorem esse et usu amicitiae et assiduitate contubernii quam Saleium Bassum, cum optimum virum tum absolutissimum poetam? Porro si poetica accusatur, non alium video reum locupletiorem.'

4. 8. *satis mihi* H Sp.: but cp. *mihi mea* 1. 10. 9. *illam* CΔEV_2, *istam* ABH. For this frequent confusion, see Introd. p. lxxxvii.
5. 2. *moderati* ABE, *modesti* CDΔV_2H.: see Introd. p. lxxxiii. *iis* CΔD, *his* ABEV_2H : see Introd. p. lxxxviii. 3. *cogitationibus* BC. *se* add. Pithoeus. 6. *Saleium* V_2CΔDHb in marg., *Seleium* E, *Salerum* A, *Galerium* B (corr. *Salerium*.)

term *patrocinium* (after *advocationum*) heightens the pleasantry of the speaker: cp. patrocinium aequitatis, Cic. de Or. i. § 242: controversiarum patrocinia suscipere, Or. § 120.

9. **sanctiorem . . . augustiorem.** For the collocation cp. sanctam illam et augustam, Cic. N. D. i. § 119: ii. §§ 62, 79: iii. § 53: ex hoc igitur Platonis quasi quodam sancto augustoque fonte, Tusc. v. § 37.

10. **eloquentiam,** here of poetry as distinct from 'oratoria eloquentia.' For a wider use of the word see ch. 10. 13 'omnem eloquentiam omnesque eius partes': cp. Quint. x. 2, 22 Habet omnis eloquentia aliquid commune, 'all utterance.'

Chs. 5–10. *Speech of Aper, in praise of Oratory as far superior to Poetry. Introduced by a few remarks from Julius Secundus.*

5. 1. **antequam,** &c. Maternus had known the sympathies of the arbitrator to whom he appealed (sua quoque auctoritate compellat, above); and Secundus now, half playfully, anticipates that Aper will decline his intervention.

2. **moderati,** 'dispassionate,' 'conscientious.' Cp. Agr. v. 2 Suetonio diligenti ac moderato duci. So 'nullus magistratuum modus,' 40. 22: 'modus et temperamentum,' 41. 23.

3. **se excusent.** The insertion of *se* may be justified on palaeographical grounds, and by a comparison of Ann. iii. 35, 5 intentius excusante se Lepido. But Tacitus also uses *excusare* absolutely, as Agr. xlii. 9, audiit preces excusantis: cp. Cic. Verr. i. § 31 se ducturos . . . excusando facile ad ludos Victoriae: Ligar. § 21 statuerat excusare.

5. **assiduitate contubernii,** 'unbroken personal intercourse.' Cp. 13. 1 illud felix contubernium. The word is properly applied to the life of soldiers (*taberna*, a tent): Agr. v. 3 electus quem contubernio aestimaret: Cic. pro Planc. § 27 contubernii necessitudo.

6. **Saleium Bassum.** Quint. x. 1, 90 Vehemens et poeticum ingenium Salei Bassi fuit, nec ipsum senectute maturuit. In ch. 9 we are told that he received a donation of 500 sestertia from Vespasian. Cp. Juv. vii. 80 Serrano tenuique Saleio.

7. **Porro** continuing the argument, 'Well then.' For this use in Tacitus (cp. 23. 14) see G. and G. p. 1136 a, and cp. especially Ann. iii. 58, 5. *Porro* never stands at the head of a sentence in Cicero. Cp. however Caes. B. C. ii. 30 porro erant qui censerent: Sall. Cat. 46, 2.

reum locupletiorem. Cp. Liv. ix. 9, 18 rei satis locupletes, an expression which there = rei qui satis creduntur fidem sponsionis praestare. *Locuples* in this

'Securus sit' inquit Aper 'et Saleius Bassus et quisquis alius studium poeticae et carminum gloriam fovet, cum causas agere non possit. Ego enim, quatenus arbitrum litis huius inveniri *contigit*, non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi, sed ipsum solum apud *hos* arguam quod natus ad eloquentiam virilem et oratoriam, qua parere simul et tueri amicitias, adsciscere necessitudines, complecti provincias possit, omittit studium quo

11. *ego* Pithoeus, *et ego* codd. (cp. 8. 21). *inveniri contigit* is my conj.: *inveniri* codd. (*invenire* D). Among other conjj. are *inveni* Pithoeus, *invenimus* Vahlen, *iuvat inveniri* Ribbeck, *inveniri non puto* Andresen, *non inveni* Gudeman, *quia* (*quando* Muretus) *te nunc . . . inveni* Ruperti. 12. *plurium* Pithoeus, *plurimum* codd. 13. *hos* is substituted for MS. *eos* (*ipsos* D): *vos* Lipsius, *eum* Spengel: *nos* John: *apud te coarguam* Weissenborn, *apud se coarg.* Andresen, Baehrens. 15. *necessitudines* $EV_2C\Delta D$, *necessitates* AB, *nationes* HVb edd. vett. *omittit* Rhenanus, *amitti* codd.

sense is defined by Gaius Dig. L. xvi. 234, 1 locuples est qui satis idonea habet pro magnitudine rei quam petitor restituendam esse petit: ib. xii. 1, 42 reum locupletem offerre. It is more commonly found, in the sense of 'credible,' with such words as 'auctor,' 'testis.' The meaning is, 'If you wish to impeach poetry in the person of her most distinguished representative, I do not think you could put forward as defendant a person of greater importance than Saleius Bassus.'

9. **quisquis alius.** More usually *si quis alius*, as at 15. 15: cp. quidquid aliud 19. 13.

10. **fovet.** Tacitus's fondness for the use of this word is probably one of the results of his familiarity with Vergil.

11. **quatenus**, for *quoniam* or *quandoquidem*, as again at 19. 1: so in Plautus, Horace (Sat. i. 1, 64), and Ovid (Met. viii. 784, xiv. 40). Cp. Ann. iii. 16, 15 quatenus veritati et innocentiae meae nusquam locus est, deos immortales testor, &c.: Plin. Ep. i. 7, 5: iii. 7, 14 quatenus nobis denegatur diu vivere, relinquamus aliquid quo nos vixisse testemur: Juv. xii. 102: Sueton. Claud. 26.—Though the text may be doubtful the meaning is obvious enough, in spite of the aberrations of the commentators. Aper says that Secundus's intimacy with Bassus does not matter: Bassus is merely a poet. With Maternus it is different, and he must not shelter himself behind the backs of poets who have not his oratorical gifts. The sequence is clear: *Securus sit ... Bassus: ego enim ... non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi.* To hold that Aper *does* accept the plea of Secundus is to ignore this sequence. *Contigit* is adopted on two grounds: (1) because it fits best with the context, and (2) because it may easily have slipped out in its contracted form (Chassant, Dict. des Abbrév. p. 110).

Those who take the opposite view argue that Secundus does not actually exercise the function of judge in the sequel. But the arbitration only extends to the preliminary question, on which Secundus would perhaps have said more (see 14. 6) had it not been for the entrance of Messalla. And the very use of *defendi* shows that the idea of an impeachment is to be carried out, though the half humorous setting of the introduction is not adhered to. Aper makes no objection to Secundus, but the latter does not formally act.

12. **societate plurium defendi.** Cp. Sall. Cat. xlviii. 7.

13. **hos** implies (like *vos*) a complimentary recognition of the presence of the young Tacitus. But as the only other auditor is Secundus himself, it is just possible that the reference is general, and that *eos* is a mistake for *ōs* (= *omnes*): 'ipsum solum apud omnes' would give a good sense.—In 33. 11 *hi* is used of Aper and Secundus.

virilem et oratoriam, the 'sturdy eloquence of the public speaker': cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 231 sic illam orationem disertam sibi et oratoriam videri, fortem et virilem non videri.

15. **complecti provincias**, sc. *ut patronus*: i. e. to extend one's connexions to whole provinces by undertaking the advocacy of their interests.

non aliud in civitate nostra vel ad utilitatem fructuosius *vel ad voluptatem iucundius* vel ad dignitatem amplius vel ad urbis famam pulchrius vel ad totius imperii atque omnium gentium notitiam inlustrius excogitari potest. Nam si ad utilitatem vitae omnia consilia factaque nostra derigenda sunt, quid est tutius quam eam exercere artem qua semper armatus praesidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum et terrorem ultro feras, ipse securus et velut quadam perpetua potentia ac potestate munitus? Cuius vis et

16. *vel ad voluptatem iucundius* add. Nipperdey: (cp. 6. 1) *honestius* Schulting: *dulcius* Ritter, Halm, Müller (cp. 6. 1 and 3). 24. *feras* Lipsius, *ferat* codd.

16. **utilitatem . . . voluptatem . . . dignitatem.** The first head is dealt with in the present chapter, the second in chapters 6 and 7 (as far as *gratia venit* in line 10); while the rest of 7 and 8 treat of *dignitas* (fama, laus).—Cp. Quint. xii. 11, 29: also Cicero's panegyric on the study of law, de Or. i. §§ 185–200.

ad. The use of this preposition, with adjectives ('in regard to,' 'on the side of'), is especially common in Tacitus (see Gerber and Greef, p. 26). So also in Cicero: e.g. Cat. i. 5, 12 ad severitatem lenius, de Or. ii. § 200 nihil mihi ad existimationem turpius, nihil ad dolorem acerbius accidere posse: cp. ib. i. § 113.—The addition of *ad voluptatem iucundius* is made on the same principle of emendation as *de utilitate*, *in laudationibus* 31. 8. It is possible, however, that Aper did not really sketch out his speech so methodically.

17. **urbis famam,** 'reputation at Rome.' The other genitives (**imperii . . . gentium**) must be taken in the same way, of the sphere over which the reputation extends. Cp. fori . . . iudiciorum, 34. 26. For **notitia** in this (passive) sense cp. 11. 11 si quid in nobis notitiae ac nominis est: 36. 19 plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem parabat: 18. 5 neque . . . gratia caruit neque apud populum Romanum notitia. So already in Ovid: cp. Nepos, Dion. ix. 4: Sen. Ep. xix. 3 iam notitia te invasit.

19. **ad utilitatem . . . derigenda.** Cp. Ann. iv. 40, 5 quibus praecipua rerum ad famam derigenda. For the form *derigo*, see Munro on Lucr. vi. 823: 'this was probably the only genuine ancient form.' Cp. Quint. x. 2, 1, with the note.

20. **tutius** may be rendered 'more advisable,' but the true reading is not improbably *quid utilius*, as Acidalius suggested.

21. **praesidium amicis,** &c. Cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 184 praesidium clientibus atque opem amicis et prope cunctis civibus lucem ingenii et consilii sui porrigentem atque tendentem.

22. **alienis** is quite in place as an antithesis to *amicis*, and there is therefore no need for Wolff's 'clientibus.' Helmreich compares Ann. vi. 7, 16.

periclitantibus, frequent in Tacitus of those endangered by actions-at-law: cp. 39. 18: 10. 38: 41. 19: Hist. iv. 42, 15, and often in the Annals.

23. **ultro** in the usual sense of 'assuming the offensive.' Tr. 'in turn': cp. Hist. iv. 23, 20 ultroque ipsi oppugnatores ignibus petebantur.

feras. The change from the MS. *ferat* seems to be justified by the context, and especially by the occurrence of *possis* at the end of the next sentence.—With *ferat* it would, however, be possible to supply an indefinite subject: cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 30 neque vero mihi quicquam, inquit, praestabilius videtur quam posse . . . voluntates impellere quo velit, unde autem velit deducere.

velut quadam. So 30. 13, 33. 3, 39. 15. *Quadam velut* (B) is a merely accidental variation, like 'ullas quidem' for 'quidem ullas' at 29. 15: cp. 17. 5.—The figure may be taken from the continuous authority of the *princeps* as contrasted with the periodical appointment of magistrates.

24. **potentia ac potestate.** Two words derived from the same root, and

utilitas rebus prospere fluentibus aliorum perfugio et tutela intellegitur: sin proprium periculum increpuit, non hercule lorica et gladius in acie firmius munimentum quam reo et periclitanti eloquentia, praesidium simul ac telum, quo propugnare pariter et incessere *sive* in iudicio sive in senatu sive apud principem possis. Quid aliud infestis patribus nuper Eprius Marcellus quam eloquentiam suam opposuit? qua accinctus et minax disertam quidem sed inexercitatam et eius modi certaminum rudem Helvidii sapientiam elusit. Plura de utilitate non dico, cui parti minime contra dicturum Maternum meum arbitror.

6. Ad voluptatem oratoriae eloquentiae transeo, cuius iu-

25. *perfugio* $EV_2C\Delta D$, *profugio* AB, *praesidio* HVb edd. vett. 26. *irrepat* HVb (*inrupit* Weinkauff, Baehrens). 27. *lorica et* Seebode, *loricae* codd. 29. *sive* Muretus and edd.: *vel* codd. (See Nipperdey, Opuscula, pp. 276–284.) 31. *qua* Ursinus: *qui* codd.

more or less synonymous, are often found together: cp. 11. 11 and 36. 19 notitiae ac nominis: 32. 17 sensus ... sententias. So moderationem modestiamque Cic. Phil. ii. 5, 10: modestia ... modus, Sall. Cat. xxxviii. 4.

25. **rebus prospere fluentibus.** For this favourite metaphor cp. Ann. xv. 5, 9 nec praesentia prospere fluebant: Hist. iii. 48, 11 cunctis super vota fluentibus, which latter phrase occurs in Sallust, H. Fr. i. 70 rebus supra (perhaps super) vota fluentibus. So Cic. de Off. i. § 90 in rebus prosperis et ad voluntatem nostram fluentibus: Caes. B. G. i. 31: Quint. Declam. 3, 12, ad omne votum fluente fortuna.

26. **increpuit.** Noise and danger are associated ideas: cp. Cic. in Pisonem § 99 quicquid increpuerit pertimescentem ... videre te volui: in Cat. i, § 18: pro Mur. § 22 simul atque increpuit suspitio tumultus: Livy iv. 43, 10 unde si quid increpet terroris: xliv. 41, 7.

28. **propugnare ... incessere.** Cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 32 Quid autem tam necessarium quam tenere semper arma quibus vel tectus ipse esse possis vel provocare improbos vel te ulscisci lacessitus.

29. **in senatu ... apud principem.** The reference here is limited (by *reo et periclitanti* above) to *judicial* proceedings before the senate, which was a High Court for such matters as 'maiestas' under the Empire, and before the Emperor, who had the right to try offences of all kinds in a private court of his own.

30. **nuper**: probably in the year 70 A.D. See Introd. p. xiv.

31. **Eprius Marcellus**, a notorious *delator* under Nero, in whose reign he had conducted, along with Cossutianus Capito, the prosecution of Thrasea (A. D. 66—Ann. xvi. 22). This gained for him the enmity of Thrasea's son-in-law, Helvidius Priscus. His full name was T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus. He was *praetor peregrinus* on the last day of the year 48 A. D., after the deposition of Silanus (Ann. xii. 4); twice consul suffectus, probably in A. D. 61 and again in 74; and three years proconsul of Asia (A. D. 70–73), (See Introd. p. xv, note). In 79 he committed suicide, having been implicated in the conspiracy against Vespasian which was discovered in that year.

qua accinctus. *Accinctus* is often used absolutely in Tacitus (e.g. Hist. ii. 88, 8; 89, 2: Ann. iii. 34, 10): but *qua* is to be preferred to the MS. *qui* as indicating the weapon which Marcellus used to such good purpose.

32. **minax**, 'defiant.' Cp. Ann. xvi. 29, 1 quum ... ut erat torvus ac minax, voce vultu oculis ardesceret: Hist. iv. 43 minacibus oculis. So 'acri eloquentia,' Ann. xvi. 22, 30.

33. **eludere**, 'to parry,' another figure from the gladiatorial arena: cp. Hist. i. 26, 11: Ann. iii. 34, 32. For Helvidius Priscus, see Hist. iv. 5 seq. He had been banished by Nero, but returned to Rome after his death.

cunditas non uno aliquo momento, sed omnibus prope diebus ac prope omnibus horis contingit. Quid enim dulcius libero et ingenuo animo et ad voluptates honestas nato quam videre plenam semper et frequentem domum suam concursu splendidissimorum hominum, idque scire non pecuniae, non orbitati, non officii alicuius administrationi, sed sibi ipsi dari? ipsos quin immo orbos et locupletes et potentes venire plerumque ad iuvenem et pauperem, ut aut sua aut amicorum discrimina commendent. Ullane tanta ingentium opum ac magnae potentiae voluptas quam spectare homines veteres et senes et totius orbis gratia subnixos in summa rerum omnium abundantia confitentes id quod optimum sit se non habere? Iam vero qui togatorum comitatus et egressus! Quae in publico

6. 2. [*prope*] Andresen. 7. *non officii* AB, *neque officii* $EV_2C\Delta DH$. *ipsos* E, *istos* ABD, *illos* CΔH edd. vett. 11. [*veteres*] Acidalius, *divites* Heinsius, [*et senes*] Novak, *senatores* Haupt. 12. *orbis* codd., *urbis* Pithoeus, Halm.

6. 1. **oratoriae eloquentiae.** Rhetoric is here only a department of 'eloquence' or 'utterance;' cp. eloq. virilem et oratoriam, 5. 13 above.

2. **non uno aliquo momento.** This is afterwards made to furnish a point of contrast with poetry, which yields only a fleeting satisfaction (gaudium volucre 9. 24).

3. **ac prope.** *Ac* is here intensive, 'nay, almost every hour.'

6. **orbitati.** Legacy-hunting was quite a trade at Rome under the Empire: Plin. xiv. 1 postquam coepere orbitas in auctoritate summa et potentia esse, captatio in quaestu fertilissimo. In Juvenal the references are frequent: cp. iii. 129, 221; iv. 19; v. 137 sq.; vi. 548; xii. 99 sq. It is significant that *orbus* is now almost synonymous with *locuples*: so *orbos et locupletes* immediately below, with which cp. Pliny's reason for refusing a request, 'non esse satis honestum dare et locupleti et orbo' Ep. v. 1, § 3.

7. **officii** for an 'office' or 'appointment' is of course post-Augustan: cp. Agr. xiv. 9: xxv. 1: Ann. iii. 12, 7. Tr. 'to the fact that one is invested with some high office.'

sibi ipsi. The subject must be supplied from the context: cp. si nullus ex se metus aut spes Ann. ii. 38, 17.

quin immo. For the anastrophe cp. 34. 24: 39. 9; also Germ. xiv. 17. In 36. 24 *quin immo* stands at the beginning of the sentence: cp. *quin etiam*, 29. 6. For the infin. (which is motived by what precedes) cp. on 'coire populum,' l. 17 below.

8. **plerumque,** 'often,' or even 'very often': as at 15. 12, 26. 19, and 31. 9. So Germ. xiii. 18; xlv. 21: Ann. iv. 57, 6; xii. 55, 5; xiv. 53, 17: for other exx. see G. and G. p. 1125 b. On the other hand at 29. 2 the meaning seems rather to be 'generally,' 'most frequently.' Cp. on *plerique* 2. 10.

10. **tanta . . . quam** (for *quanta*): cp. Liv. xxvi. 1, 3.

11. **homines veteres et senes**: 'men full of years and experience.' There may be in *veteres*, however, an antithesis to the well-known *novi homines*.

12. **orbis** is common enough in Tacitus (though not in Cicero) for *orbis terrarum*: e. g. Hist. iii. 49, 1 hac totius orbis mutatione fortuna imperii transit.—Aper's language does not err on the side of understatement.

gratia subnixos. Cp. Ann. xiii. 6 ad fin. 'pecuniosum et gratia subnixum.'

in summa rerum omnium abundantia. Cicero has 'in omnium rerum abundantia,' de Amic. § 52: Brut. § 320.

14. **togatorum,** i. e. clients, who wear the national dress in escorting their patron: so 'turbae togatae,' Juv. i. 96: 'opera togata,' Mart. iii. 46, 1. The undress populace, on the other hand, is referred to below as 'tunicatus hic populus,' 7. 16.

species! Quae in iudiciis veneratio! Quod illud gaudium consurgendi adsistendique inter tacentes et in unum conversos! Coire populum et circumfundi coram et accipere adfectum, quemcumque orator induerit! Vulgata dicentium gaudia et imperitorum quoque oculis exposita percenseo: illa secretiora et tantum ipsis orantibus nota maiora sunt. Sive accuratam meditatamque profert orationem, est quoddam sicut ipsius dictionis, ita gaudii pondus et constantia; sive novam et recentem curam non sine aliqua trepidatione animi attulerit, ipsa

15. *quod illud* EV_2, *quod id* ABCΔD, *quod* H Put. and edd. vett. 17. *corā* codd., *coronam* Acidalius, Halm, Müller. 18. *quandocumque* AB. *induerit* EV_2CΔD, *indueret* AB, *induxerit* H (*x* above the line) b, *voluerit* Andresen. *Vulgaria* Halm. 21. *profert* AB, *perfert* EV_2CΔ, *proferre* D, *affert* HV edd. vett. 23. *animi* Pichena, *animus* codd.

From Martial we learn that the wearing of the toga at this *officium* was considered a great grievance: it was not only heavy and uncomfortable, but expensive as well, x. 96: xii. 18, 5. Cp. id. ix. 100, 1–2 Denaris tribus invitas et mane togatum Observare iubes atria, Basse, tua: Juv. iii. 127, with Mayor's note. Friedländer[6], p. 384.

14. **comitatus et egressus.** This conjunction, which is of the nature of a hendiadys (= comitatus in egressibus) recurs at 11. 13. Tr. 'what a following when one goes abroad.' Cp. Ann. xi. 12, 12 multo comitatu ventitare domum, egressibus adhaerescere. For the plural of abstract nouns denoting motion, see Dr. § 2.

15. **Quod illud gaudium.** There is a similar eulogy on oratory in Cic. de Or. 1. § 31 Quid enim est aut tam admirabile quam ex infinita multitudine hominum existere unum, &c. For the brachyology, cp. Ann. xi. 7, 1 quem illum tanta superbia esse.

17. **coire—circumfundi.** These infinitives of exclamation (Roby, § 1358) are due to the omission of a *verbum sentiendi*. So in cases where a scene is being pictured to the imagination: Cic. in Verr. ii. 5, § 100 O spectaculum miserum! . . . in portu Syracusano de classe populi Romani triumphum agere piratam . . .! pro Cluent. § 192 mulierem quandam . . . proficisci! For *coram* (of 'thronging round' the speaker) cp. Hist. iv. 65 coram adire ('face to face') adloquique Veledam: see on 36. 31 coram et praesentes.

18. **induerit.** There is a doubt as to whether this means 'assumes' (sc. sibi ipsi) or 'inspires' (sc. in his hearers). In support of the latter intepretation (= *indiderit*, *iniecerit*) the only passage that can be cited is the doubtful one at Hist. iv. 57, 12 Galbam et infracta tributa hostiles spiritus induisse, where *indidisse* has been proposed, just as here *inbuerit*, *induxerit*. The former is common enough: cp. Ann. xi. 7, 10 facile . . . magnum animum induisse, 'it was easy (for them) to play a magnanimous part.' For the orator's power of moving the feelings of others, cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 87 uti ei qui audirent sic adficerentur animis ut eos adfici vellet orator: Brut. § 185.

dicentium. For the substantival use of the participle, cp. 28. 6. So *orantibus*, immediately below.

19. **quoque.** In Tacitus and Quintilian (Introd. to Book X. p. liv) *quoque* is often used with adjectives where *vel* or *etiam* would have been more regular: cp. 4. 7: 7. 16: 39. 22. Cp. also 17. 23.

21. **meditatam.** A list of deponent participles used with a passive force is given in Madvig, § 153: Zumpt, § 632. For the expression, cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 257 adcuratae ac meditatae commentationes.

22. **gaudii pondus et constantia.** His satisfaction is 'fuller and more abiding' than he could derive from a more superficial performance.

23. **cura**: see on 3. 13.

attulerit. As with *profert*, above, supply an indefinite subject, 'quis': the difference in tense and mood might be brought out by 'In cases where,' &c., and 'If he happens to,' &c.

sollicitudo commendat eventum et lenocinatur voluptati. Sed extemporalis audaciae atque ipsius temeritatis vel praecipua iucunditas est; nam *in* ingenio quoque, sicut in agro, quamquam *grata quae* diu serantur atque elaborentur, gratiora tamen quae sua sponte nascuntur.

7. Equidem, ut de me ipso fatear, non eum diem laetiorem egi quo mihi latus clavus oblatus est, vel quo homo novus et in civitate minime favorabili natus quaesturam aut tribunatum aut praeturam accepi, quam eos quibus mihi, pro mediocritate huius

26. *in* add. b, om. cett. codd. 27. *grata quae* after Nissen (*quamquam et illa quae diu serantur atque elaborentur grata sint, gratiora*), and Novak (*grata sunt quae seruntur atque elaborantur*): *alia* ABEV$_2$H, om. CD. Gudeman would read '*quamquam quae diu serantur atque elaborentur grata*,' Andresen '*quamquam utiliora* (or *solidiora*) *quae seruntur atque elaborantur*' and (more recently) Novak '*quamquam iuvant quae*' &c.

7. 1. *ipse* BH. 4. *quam ago eos* Vahlen.

24. **commendat eventum,** 'makes the result all the more telling,' 'gives success a grace.' *Commendare* is here used with something like the force of *ornare*, to 'set off,' 'set in a fair light.' Cp. decor commendat, 21. 35.

lenocinatur voluptati, 'enhances the feeling of satisfaction.' Cp. the use of this verb in Germ. xliii. 19 insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur ('aggravate,' 'add to').

extemporalis audaciae. Tr. 'A bold, even a venturesome improvisation possesses a special charm.' Cp. Quint. x. 6, 6 Alioqui vel extemporalem temeritatem (the 'rashness of improvisation') malo quam male cohaerentem cogitationem: ib. 7, § 1.

26. **ingenio . . . agro.** So Cic. de Or. ii. § 131 subacto mihi ingenio opus est ut agro non semel arato, sed novato et iterato, quo meliores fetus possit et grandiores edere: Or. § 48.

quamquam grata quae. The contractions for *grata* and *quae* are not unlike, and may have created the confusion out of which *alia* resulted. I differ from Novak in dispensing with *sunt* and in retaining the subjunctive, which may have been motived by Tacitus's fondness for the use of *quamquam* with subj.: here supply *sint*.—John and others defend the MS. *alia* (ἄλλα, τὰ ἄλλα) as opp. to *quae sua sponte nascuntur*. But an appropriate neuter plural would be more in place: this might be found in 'contraria,' which, besides furnishing the antithesis to 'quae sua sponte nascuntur,' and corresponding with 'accuratam,' 'meditatam,' 'curam' above, might also be defended on palaeographical grounds. The meaning would then be, 'Where conditions are unfavourable, or adverse, much cultivation is requisite: but there is a greater charm about a natural growth.' Cp. 40. 23 sicut indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas laetiores.

27. **diu.** Cp. Lucan Phars. viii. 672 frangit diu, 'takes a long time in breaking': ib. vii. 504. So 25. 2.

7. 1. **ipso.** The ablative (which gives a better antithesis to what has gone before) may be supported by Cic. de Off. ii. § 67 ni vererer ne de me ipso aliquid viderer queri: not however by de Sen. § 30, where *ipse* could not have stood. For *ipse*, on the other hand, cp. ib. § 82 ut de me ipse aliquid more senum glorier.

2. **latus clavus,** the toga with the broad purple border running down the front. It distinguished the senators from the equites, who wore the *angustus clavus*. Cp. Plin. Ep. ii. 9, 2 latum clavum a Caesare . . . impetravi.

3. **favorabili,** 'popular.' Hist. ii. 97, 12. Aper means that the community to which he belonged in Gaul was not in favour at Rome (probably owing to some political disturbance), and could not give him, therefore, any 'letter of recommendation.' The word is found first in Velleius, and is frequent in Quintilian (e.g. x. 5, 21).

4. **quam eos,** sc. *ago*. So Germ. xli. 2 quomodo paulo ante Rhenum (sc. secutus sum) sic . . . sequar: Hist. iv. 42, 27 quomodo senes nostri Marcellum, Crispum, iuvenes Regulum imitentur.

pro mediocritate, &c. For such ex-

quantulaecumque in dicendo facultatis, aut reum prospere defendere, aut apud centumviros causam aliquam feliciter orare, aut apud principem ipsos illos libertos et procuratores principum tueri et defendere datur. Tum mihi supra tribunatus et praeturas et consulatus ascendere videor, tum habere quod, si non in animo oritur, nec codicillis datur nec cum gratia venit. Quid? fama et laus cuius artis cum oratorum gloria comparanda est?

5. *aut reum* codd.: *aut apud patres reum* Michaelis, and all edd. 7. *ipsum—principis* Spengel. 9. *habere* Pithoeus, *abire* codd. 10. *in animo* Freinsheim, Müller, *in alio* codd., *in aliquo* (cp. 38. 12) Ritter and Halm, *naturale* Baehrens: *quod non natalibus paritur* Andresen, *quod nec* (or *non*) *metallo emitur* Buchholz, *quod si non in caelo oritur* Heller. 10. [*cum*] Acidalius, *civium* Baehrens.

pressions of modesty, cp. Cic. pro Arch. § 13 facultas quantacumque in me est.

5. **reum . . . defendere.** This refers to criminal processes, which might be instituted either in the ordinary *iudicia*, for the general body of the citizens, or in the senate for members of the senatorial order, as also for offences against the emperor or the state, malversation in the provinces, &c. The similar enumeration 'sive in iudicio sive in senatu sive apud principem,' 5. 29 would seem to justify the insertion, with most edd., of 'apud patres': but it is possible to carry parallelism too far.

6. **apud centumviros.** This court was specially charged with the decision of questions by law involved in such matters as inheritance, wardship, &c. From ch. 38. 11 (causae centumvirales quae nunc primum obtinent locum), it is clear that its functions were of great importance. Originally it consisted of 105 members, three being chosen out of each of the thirty-five tribes: at a later time it was subdivided, and the membership rose to 180. See Wilkins' note on Cic. de Or. i. § 173.

7. **apud principem.** The emperor's cabinet-council (consilium) took special cognisance of all actions raised against officials of the government.

ipsos illos libertos et procuratores principum. It was from the ranks of the imperial freedmen that the 'procuratores' were for the most part chosen. The word denotes all the emperor's agents who had charge of financial matters either at Rome or in the imperial provinces. For the great power wielded by these freedmen, cp. 13. 16 tantum posse liberti solent: it is pointed to in the *ipsos illos*. See also Friedländer, p. 82 sqq.

8. **tueri et defendere.** So 'tueri atque defendere,' Cic. de Or. i. § 172: ad Fam. xiii. 64, 1: Tac. Germ. xiv. 4 illum defendere, tueri. *Defendere* implies defence from actual attack: *tueri* protection from a possible danger.

datur. As in Vergil and Ovid, *dare* is often found in Tacitus, Quintilian, and Pliny with an infinitive. Cp. Ann. iii. 67, 10: iv. 6, 5, &c. Dr. § 145.

10. **in animo.** This passage has been much discussed, and variously emended. *In aliquo* could not stand: we should rather have expected *in ipso*. *In alvo* (Pithoeus) seems to me to be quite untenable. I had thought of 'si non innatum oritur,' which Steiner also suggested: or 'si non nativum' (cp. the antithesis between *nativum* and *ascitum* Nep. Att. iv. 1). On the whole, the reading in the text is the safest: the contractions for *alio*, which is found in all MSS., and *animo* are so similar that confusion may easily have arisen. [Buchholz supports his conjecture (see above) by assuming that a reference to money (cp. 6. 8) is indispensable, and by the parallelism that results: for *metallo*, he compares Hor. Ep. i. 10, 39. Heller (Philologus, 1892, p. 346) desiderates *nisi* for *si non* on the ordinary readings. *Si non in caelo oritur* he puts forward as a hit at the poets, who considered inspiration their special prerogative (cp. the use of vates, 9. 9): Aper means 'I won't go the length of saying that it is the gift of heaven, but it is a gift which neither prince nor people can bestow.']

codicillis, 'by sign-manual.' Cp. 8. 24 quod non a principe acceperint nec accipi possit.

nec cum gratia venit = nec comes gratiae est, i.e it does not follow in the

Quinam inlustriores sunt in urbe non solum apud negotiosos et rebus intentos, sed etiam apud iuvenes vacuos et adulescentes, quibus modo et recta indoles est et bona spes sui? Quorum nomina prius parentes liberis suis ingerunt? Quos saepius vulgus quoque imperitum et tunicatus hic populus transeuntes nomine vocat et digito demonstrat? Advenae quoque et peregrini iam in municipiis et coloniis suis auditos, cum primum urbem attigerunt, requirunt ac velut adgnoscere concupiscunt.

8. Ausim contendere Marcellum hunc Eprium, de quo modo locutus sum, et Crispum Vibium (libentius enim novis et recenti-

12. *quinam illustriores* Orelli: *qui non illustres* codd., *qui tam illustres* Bötticher, *quidnam illustrius est* Steiner. Perhaps *Qui magis illustres? sunt* Schopen, *et* codd. 13. *iuvenes vacuos*: *iuvenes* ACDEV_2H, *vacuos* B and most edd. 14. *et recta* B (*et* written in above the line by the same hand), *recta et* AV_2CΔD, *recta* E Halm. *indoles est* ABCΔDH, *indoles* EV_2, see Introd. p. lxxx. Gudeman suggests 'modo recta est indoles et bona spes sui.' Possibly 'quibus modo ratio sit et indoles:' cp. the use of 'indoles,' Cic. Verr. iii. § 160. 15. *nomina* EV_2CΔDH, *nō* AB. 19. *velut* most codd., *uult* HV Sp., *vultus* Put. Acidalius: cp. 26. 23.

train of favour or popularity. For *venit* cp. Ann. xiv. 53, 14 studia ... quibus claritudo venit, 'which have won reputation.'

12. **Quinam** occurs nowhere else in the Dialogus. Novak reads *qui*, thinking that *non* in the reading of the MSS. (*qui non*) may have been inserted by a copyist who did not see that there was a question.

13. **iuvenes vacuos et adulescentes.** The adjective belongs to both nouns.—The usual reading 'iuvenes et adulescentes' gives no antithesis to 'negotiosos et rebus intentos.' *Vacuos*, which is found only in B, was probably written above the line in the archetype (Gudeman).

15. **ingerunt,** 'din into their ears.' Cp. Ann. ii. 79, 13 magnitudinem imperatoris identidem ingerens: Hist. iv. 78, 1 a tribunis praefectisque eadem ingerebantur. So of a compliment, Ann. i. 72, 3 nomen patris patriae . . . a populo saepius ingestum: more usually of reproaches, &c., as ib. iv. 42, 4.

16. **vulgus imperitum** occurs also Ann. ii. 77, 11. Cp. ch. 19. 9 below, populus ut imperitus et rudis. Cicero very frequently has 'multitudo imperita': and in pro Mur. § 38 vulgus imperitorum. So Quint. vi. 4, 6 imperitis ac saepe pullatae turbae relinquunt.

tunicatus hic populus. The reference is to the poorer classes, who only wore the toga on state occasions: tr. 'the people in their working clothes.' So Hor. Ep. i. 7, 65 vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello. Augustus forbade citizens to appear in the forum or circus without the toga (Suet. Aug. 40). In the country it was seldom worn: Juv. iii. 171 pars magna Italiae est . . . in qua nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus: cp. Cic. in Rull. ii. § 94 Iam vero qui metus erat tunicatorum illorum!: Mart. x. 47, 5 toga rara: 51, 6 tunicata quies: xii. 18, 17 (from Spain) Ignota est toga. Cp. note on *togatorum* 6. 14.

17. **digito demonstrat.** So Cic. de Rep. vi. 26: de Or. ii. 266: cp. monstror digito praetereuntium Hor. Od. iv. 3, 22 and Pers. i. 28. Of the finger of scorn, *δακτυλοδεικτεῖν*, Demosth. 790: cp. *δακτυλοδεικτός*, Aesch. Agam. 1332.

18. **auditos.** For this (poetical) use = 'heard of,' cp. Hist. ii. 6, 8 auditique saepius . . . Caesares quam inspecti: ib. i. 86, 8: Germ. xli. ad fin.: Ov. Met. vi. 170. Wolff compares also Plin. Ep. vii. 19, 7 feminae quae leguntur.

19. **velut adgnoscere.** They recognise them by their descriptions, not from having seen them previously; hence *velut*. Cp. 8. 10, and 17. ad fin.: Quint. vi. 2, 13 mores dicentis ex oratione pelluceant et quodammodo adgnoscantur.

8. 2. **Vibius Crispus** (for the inversion in the text, see on 1. 1) was a native of Vercellae, who had already held high office under Nero, and who continued to

bus quam remotis et oblitteratis exemplis utor) non minus *notos* esse in extremis partibus terrarum quam Capuae aut Vercellis, ubi nati dicuntur. Nec hoc illis *alterius bis*, alterius ter milies sestertium praestat, quamquam ad has ipsas opes possunt videri eloquentiae beneficio venisse, *sed* ipsa eloquentia; cuius numen et caelestis vis multa quidem omnibus saeculis exempla edidit, ad quam usque fortunam homines ingenii viribus pervenerint, sed haec, ut supra dixi, proxima et quae non auditu cognoscenda, sed oculis spectanda haberemus. Nam quo sordidius et abiectius nati sunt quoque notabilior paupertas et angustiae rerum nascentes eos circumsteterunt, eo clariora et ad demonstrandam oratoriae eloquentiae utilitatem inlustriora exempla sunt, quod

8. 3. *notos* add. Ursinus, *illustres* Ribbeck: qy. *claros?* 5. *alterius bis* add. Pichena. 7. *sed* add. Lipsius. 9. *ad quam* ABCΔD, *ad quantam* H Sp. Put. Acidalius, *ad quantum* EV_2: cp. 21. 38. 11. *habeamus* Dronke, Baehrens. 12. *angustiae rerum* Lipsius, *angustia ereptum* codd. 14. *nobilitatem* Acidalius, *dignitatem* Spengel: qy. *divinitatem?*

flourish even in the the age of Domitian (Suet. Dom. 3). He was a noted *delator*: pecunia potentia ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos, Hist. ii. 10, 3. Juvenal Sat. v. 81 says of him 'Cuius erant mores qualis facundia, mite Ingenium,' giving a rather more favourable estimate of him than Tacitus; so Quintilian v. 13. 6, and x. 1, 119. His wealth was proverbial: 'divitior Crispo,' Mart. iv. 54, 7.

3. **remotis et oblitteratis**: 'distant and half-forgotten.' This gives the antithesis to *novis et recentibus* (cp. 6. 22) 'new and fresh in the memory.'

non minus notos. The insertion of *notos* in the text seems to be absolutely necessary for the sense. Gudeman suggests *non minores*, comparing 21. 23 'minorem esse fama sua'; but the comparative seems inappropriate here, and none of the other passages quoted in support of the emendation are to the point.

5. **bis milies** (centena milia) **sestertium.** The one was worth 200 and the other 300 millions of sesterces: something under two and three millions of our money. Two hundred million sesterces may be taken as = £1,750,000.

8. **caelestis.** So even in Cicero, 'caelestes divinasque legiones' Phil. v. § 28: cp. Quint. x. 1, 86 naturae caelesti atque immortali.

11. **spectanda haberemus** = spectanda nobis essent. This use of the gerundive (or gerund) after *habere* is frequent in Tacitus: cp. 19. 24 exspectandum habent: 31. 18 dicendum habuerit: 36. 30 respondendum haberent: 37. 17 dicendum habeas: Hist. i. 15, 19: iv. 77, 16: Ann. iv. 40, 7: xiv. 44, 2. See Draeger, § 27 *e* and Wölfflin, Archiv, ii. p. 67 sqq. The subjunctive is used because *eloquentia* is thought of as personified: it is part of its mysterious and godlike scheme that we should have living examples of eloquence, to which it is impossible to shut our eyes.

sordidius et abiectius. For the collocation cp. sordida et abiecta, Quint. ii. 12. 7. The comparative *abiectior* is said to occur first in Val. Max. iii. 5, 4 abiectiorem et obsceniorem vitam exegit.—For *nascentes*, below, Buchholz suggests *pubescentes* (*adolescentes*?) in order to avoid what he considers an unnecessary repetition: but the first clause refers to the rank of the parents, the second to their means.

13. **circumsteterunt.** The use of this verb is more striking here, with *angustiae rerum*, than in such instances as Hist. i. 17, 9 circumsteterat interim Palatium publica exspectatio: iv. 79, 13 circumsteterat Civilem et alius metus: Verg. Aen. ii. 559 at me tum primum salvus circumstetit horror: iv. 561 (pericula). Cp. also Cic. Phil. x. § 20 Cum vero dies et noctes omnia nos undique fata circumstent.

sine commendatione natalium, sine substantia facultatum, neuter moribus egregius, alter habitu quoque corporis contemptus, per multos iam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac donec libuit principes fori: nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia agunt feruntque cuncta atque ab ipso principe cum quadam reverentia diliguntur, quia Vespasianus, venerabilis senex et patientissimus veri, bene intellegit ceteros quidem amicos suos iis niti quae ab ipso acceperint quaeque ipsi accumulare et in alios congerere promptum sit, Marcellum autem et Crispum attulisse ad amicitiam suam quod non a principe acceperint nec accipi possit. Minimum inter tot ac tanta locum obtinent imagines ac tituli et statuae, quae neque ipsa tamen negleguntur, tam hercule quam divitiae et opes, quas facilius invenies qui vituperet quam qui fastidiat. His igitur et honoribus et ornamentis et facultatibus

18. *nunc* [principes] Helmreich. 21. *vir* HV Sp. (*sapientissimus vir* Acidalius). *ceteros* Put., *et ceteros* codd. 22. *ipsi* Lipsius, *ipsis* codd. 23. *sit* Halm, *est* codd. 24. *possit* ABCH, *possint* $EV_2D\Delta$. 25. *inter haec tot* Vahlen.

15. **sine commendatione natalium.** Cp. Cic. Brut. § 96 homo per se cognitus sine ulla commendatione maiorum, and similarly Cat. i. § 28 nulla commendatione maiorum: pro Planc. § 67. Each was 'auctor nobilitatis suae,' like Cicero himself, Tusc. iv. § 2.

substantia means here 'foundation,' or, rather, 'support.' So Paulinus of Nola, Ep. v. 5 (ed. Migne) substantia facultatum non egentior. The word seems to belong to the language of law. It is common enough, with a somewhat similar meaning, in Quintilian: e.g. verba ipsa ... sine rerum substantia, ii. 21, 1.—*Facultates* occurs again in the sense of *opes* at the end of this chapter.

16. **contemptus.** This was probably Marcellus, but we cannot be certain.

18. **in Caesaris amicitia.** So Ann. iii. 30, 16 in amicitia principis: and xiii. 45, 17 flagrantissimus in amicitia Neronis.

agunt feruntque, a frequent collocation, especially in Livy: cp. ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν. Tr. 'they carry all before them.' In Hist. i. 2, 19, Tacitus has the modifition 'cum ... agerent *verterent* cuncta.'

20. **venerabilis.** Vespasian would be about sixty-five in the year in which the dialogue is supposed to have taken place.

patientissimus veri, 'who never shuts his eyes to the truth.' This is explained below, quod non a principe acceperint, &c.: Vespasian has more need of them than they have of him.

22. **accumulare.** The compound verb occurs only here in Tacitus, though *cumulare* is common enough. So also *accumulator* in Ann. iii. 30. 5 (opum accumulator) is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

23. **ad amicitiam suam**, 'to their friendship with him.' Cp. Caes. Bell. Gall. i. 43 quod vero ad amicitiam populi Romani attulissent, id iis eripi quis pati posset?

24. **quod** is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ acc. after *acceperint* and nom. to *accipi possit.* So Germ. xviii. ad fin. 'quae nurus accipiant rursusque ad nepotes referantur.'

25. **minimum ... locum.** Andresen notes this expression as not Ciceronian.

imagines. The reference is not to pride of ancestry—Marcellus and Crispus were both 'novi homines'—but to the custom (Plin. N. H. xxxv. 2, 6) of decorating the atrium with bronze medallions of the emperor and of famous men (such as pleaders might receive as gifts from their clients): the eulogistic inscriptions placed underneath are designated by *tituli.* Cp. Hor. Sat. i. 6, 17 qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus.

26. **tam hercule quam**, 'just as little as.' Translate 'And yet even these are not disregarded, any more than,' &c. Cp. 21. 22.

refertas domos eorum videmus qui se ab ineunte adulescentia causis forensibus et oratorio studio dederunt.

9. Nam carmina et versus, quibus totam vitam Maternus insumere optat (inde enim omnis fluxit oratio), neque dignitatem ullam auctoribus suis conciliant neque utilitates alunt; voluptatem autem brevem, laudem inanem et infructuosam consequuntur. Licet haec ipsa et quae deinceps dicturus sum aures tuae, Materne, respuant, cui bono est si apud te Agamemnon aut Iason diserte loquitur? Quis ideo domum defensus et tibi obligatus redit? Quis Saleium nostrum, egregium poetam vel, si hoc honorificentius est, praeclarissimum vatem, deducit

29. *aetate adulescentia* C.
9. 5. *deinceps* AB, *deinde* $EV_2C\Delta DH$. 8. *Saleium* $EV_2C\Delta H$, *Saltium* D, *Caeleium* A, *Coeleium* B.

27. **ab ineunte adulescentia.** There can be no doubt that this is the true reading. Gudeman thinks that the reading of C (ab ineunte aetate adulescentia) shows that *adulescentia* had been originally written in above as an explanation of 'ab ineunte aetate,' which ought accordingly to be restored as the genuine text. But it is much easier to suppose that the copyist of C wrote *aetate* by a mistake which he did not trouble to correct.

9. 1. **Nam,** 'as for poetry, on the other hand.' There is really an ellipse, which gives this use of *nam* the effect of an adversative conjunction.—Aper now proceeds (in this and the next chapter) to show how comparatively thankless is the profession of poetry.

carmina et versus: so coupled in Ann. xvi. 19, 7 (levia carmina et faciles versus), where the editors distinguish them by taking the former to mean songs or lyrical pieces, and the latter hexameter, iambic, or other poems.

2. **insumere optat.** The infinitive with *optat* is rare in Cicero: cp. however Verg. Aen. vi. 501: Livy ix. 14, 15.

fluxit. For this very common figure cp. Cic. Brut. § 201 a Cotta et Sulpicio haec omnis fluxit oratio.

dignitatem. For the sequence *dignitas, utilitas, voluptas, laus* cp. 5. 16 *utilitas, voluptas, dignitas, fama.*

3. **neque utilitates alunt,** 'nor do they forward their interests.' *Alere* is frequently used in this figurative sense: e.g. Ann. iii. 41 ad fin. aluit dubitatione bellum. Cp. Hist. ii. 30, 16 eandem utilitatem fovere.

4. **infructuosam,** a word of the silver age: elsewhere in Tacitus of military service. Hist. i. 51, 5: Ann. i. 17, 12.

6. **aures . . . respuant.** The same remarkable metaphor is found even in Cicero: pro Planc. § 44 respuerent aures: in Pis. § 45: Orat. Part. 5. § 15. So also Quint. xi. 1, 61 quid aures hominum magis respuunt? Cp. ἀποπτύειν.

cui bono est: not 'what good is it,' but 'who gains by it.' The formula was made famous by L. Cassius Longinus (Trib. Pleb. 137 B.C. when he carried the *lex Cassia tabellaria*), who when *quaesitor iudicii* in a cause of murder, used always to urge the *iudices* to inquire who had a motive for the crime, who 'would gain by' the death.

apud te, in your tragedies *Thyestes* and *Medea*: ch. 3.

8. **Saleium:** see on 4. 6.

9. **vatem,** 'bard.' Cp. Verg. Ecl. ix. 32 et me fecere poetam Pierides—me quoque dicunt vatem pastores. *Vates* is a word with more solemn associations than *poeta*: Quint. xii. 10, 24 instinctis divino spiritu vatibus: x. 1, 48 dearum quas praesidere vatibus creditum est. *Poeta* is sometimes used slightingly of versemakers: Cic. in Pis. § 29 ut assentatorem, ut poetam: Tusc. i. § 2 quod in provinciam poetas duxisset.

deducit: of escort to the forum, **salutat,** of the morning visit, **prosequitur,** of attendance on a journey.

aut salutat aut prosequitur? Nempe si amicus eius, si propinquus, si denique ipse in aliquod negotium inciderit, ad hunc Secundum recurret aut ad te, Materne, non quia poeta es, neque ut pro eo versus facias; hi enim Basso domi nascuntur, pulchri quidem et iucundi, quorum tamen hic exitus est, ut cum toto anno, per omnes dies, magna noctium parte unum librum excudit et elucubravit, rogare ultro et ambire cogatur ut sint qui dignentur audire, et ne id quidem gratis; nam et domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit. Et ut beatissimus recitationem eius eventus prosequatur, omnis ista laus intra unum aut alterum diem, velut in herba vel flore

10. *est* AB (for *eius*): om. H. 12. *decurret* Gronovius, Novak. 20. *ista* AB: *illa* CDHV$_2$.

10. **Nempe**: 'why surely.'

11. **negotium**: some troublesome business, involving an action at law: cp. note on *negotia*, 38. 9.

12. **recurret.** The verb occurs in this sense also in Quintilian: Pr. § 17 necesse est ad eos aliquando auctores recurrere, qui . . . : i. 6, 13. *Decurrere* is however more classical.

13. **domi nascuntur**, a proverbial expression, used of what one possesses in abundance, and does not need to borrow from elsewhere. So Plaut. Cist. ii. 1, 2 hanc ego de me coniecturam domi facio, ne quaeram foris. Cp. Cic. Acad. ii. § 80 domi nobis ista nascuntur (where Dr. Reid refers to Plaut. Mil. Glor. 194 domi habet: cp. Cas. ii. 3, 8 coniecturam domi facio magis quam ex auditis: Amph. ii. 2, 5 id nunc experior domo atque ipsa de me scio): domi est, Att. x. 14: domo petes, Fam. vii. 25: Att. i. 19, 3: x. 14, 2: ad Fam. ix. 3, 2: Sen. Ep. xxiii. 3.

14. **quorum tamen**: though they result in nothing, except that, &c.

15. **excudit et elucubravit**: 'has hammered out, over the midnight oil.' Cp. Cic. ad Att. xv. 27, 2 Excudam aliquid Ἡρακλειδεῖον, quod lateat in thesauris tuis: and for similar figures Plin. i. 3, 4 effinge aliquid et excude: Hor. A. P. 441: also Juv. vii. 55 communi feriat carmen triviale moneta. For *elucubravit* cp. Cic. Brut. § 312 multae (orationes) quas non minus diligenter elaboratas et tanquam elucubratas afferebamus.

16. **rogare ultro.** Instead of deriving material advantage from his poems, and being courted on their account, the poet has actually to go about and request people to be good enough to give him a hearing.

17. **domum mutuatur.** So Juv. vii. 40 commodat aedes: Plin. Ep. viii. 2, § 2 domum suam recitantibus praebet. Cp. Sen. Ep. xcv.: Plin. Ep. 1, 13: Suet. Claud. xli.: and Mayor on Juv. iii. 9.

18. **libellos**, 'programmes:' cp. Cic. Phil. ii. § 97 'gladiatorum libellos,' like our playbills. So prob. Mart. xiv. 142 Si recitaturus dedero tibi forte libellum Hoc focale tuas adserat auriculas. In Ep. iii. 18 Pliny opposes 'libelli' to 'codicilli' (non per codicillos, non per libellos . . . admoniti), the latter being 'letters of invitation,' to which 'dispergit' here would be hardly so applicable.

19. **beatissimus.** Cicero does not apply *beatus* to things: cp. however Quint. x. 1, 61 and 109; ib. 3, 22.

20. **unum aut alterum**: See on 21. 6.

herba . . . flore . . . frugem, leaf, flower, and fruit. The glory of it all fades away (cp. Quint. i. 3, 3) like a plant that has been plucked before it is ripe: lit. 'prematurely gathered, as it were, in the blade or the bloom.' A certain obscurity in the phraseology results from an attempt to combine the figure with the fact which the figure illustrates: thus after 'intra unum aut alterum diem,' we should have expected some such word as *elabitur*: while 'praecepta' is hardly applicable to 'omnis ista laus.' For the expression, cp. Hist. v. 7, 5 sive herba tenus aut flore seu solidam in speciem adolevere: and for *praecepta*, Hist. iii. 15, 10 festinato praelio victoriam praecepisset.

praecepta, ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem, nec aut amicitiam inde refert aut clientelam aut mansurum in animo cuiusquam beneficium, sed clamorem vagum et voces inanes et gaudium volucre. Laudavimus nuper ut miram et eximiam Vespasiani liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia Basso donasset. Pulchrum id quidem, indulgentiam principis ingenio mereri: quanto tamen pulchrius, si ita res familiaris exigat, se ipsum colere, suum genium propitiare, suam experiri liberalitatem! Adice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint, relinquenda conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est.

10. Ne opinio quidem et fama, cui soli serviunt et quod unum

21. *praecepta* EV_2ΔD, *percepta* ABCH, *praecerpta* Schele, Halm, *intercepta* Peerlkamp. 28. *genium* Lipsius, *ingenium* codd. *liberalitatem* AE, and so Lipsius, *libertatem* cett. codd. 31. *utque* AH, (*ut quae* C), *quae* D, *et ut* B. 32. [*id est in solitudinem*] Lange. *secedendum* Schele, *recedendum* codd.

22. **mansurum** ('lasting,' 'durable'), frequent in Tacitus with the force of an adjective: Hist. i. 78, 5; ii. 49, 21: Ann. iv. 38, 7. Cp. Verg. Aen. 3, 86. So *duraturus*, **22.** 15; **34.** 22.

23. **vagum**, that soon passes away: synonymous with **volucre**, 'fleeting.'

24. **nuper.** See Introd. p. xiv, note.

26. **mereri** = consequi: cp. **31.** 23.

27. **si ... exigat.** This clause influences the preceding part of the sentence ('pulchrum id quidem,' &c.) as well as that in which it actually stands; but there is no need to transpose it, as is done by some editors. 'If we have to find some source of profit, let us find it in ourselves rather than in princes.'

se ipsum colere. Heller rightly points out that *ipsum* is not in apposition with *se*: the accusative results from the form of the sentence. The antithesis is between 'orator se ipse colit' and 'Bassum Vespasianus coluit' (sc. quingenta sestertia donando): the orator pays attention to himself, stands on his own legs, instead of relying on the favour of princes.

28. **suum genium propitiare**, 'gain the good graces of one's own genius,' and so secure a return for whatever talent one may possess: 'sein Talent fruchtbringend machen' (Heller).

suam ... liberalitatem, 'to fall back on one's own bounty.' The contrast is between the humiliation implied in being a recipient of imperial favours, and the noble independence of the 'self-made' orator.—All MSS. give *libertatem*, which might perhaps be allowed to stand.

29. **Adice quod.** This formula (for *accedit quod*) does not occur in Cicero or Caesar, but often in Quint.'s Declamations: *adde quod* is also common enough (see Quint. x. Introd. p. liii). Cp. Liv. xxiii. 5, 9 adicite ad haec quod, &c.

elaborare et efficere. So Cic. ad Fam. ix. 16, 2 quidquid elaborari aut effici potuerit.

30. **conversatio** in the sense of 'intercourse' (usus, consuetudo) is post-classical: cp. Ann. xii. 49, 3: Germ. xl. 15: Quint. vi. 3. 17 (conversatio doctorum): and in Seneca, *passim*.

31. **utque ipsi dicunt.** For the poet's love of retirement, see Hor. Car. i. 1, 30, 32, 1: iv. 3, 10 sq.: Ep. ii. 2, 77: A. P. 298: Ovid Trist. i. 1, 41 Carmina secessum scribentis et otia quaerunt: cp. v. 12, 3: Juv. vii. 58. Writing to Tacitus, and probably with this passage in his mind, Pliny says, 'poemata quiescunt, quae tu inter nemora et lucos commodissime perfici putas' Ep. ix. 10, § 2. Cp. on the other hand Quint. x. 3, 22.

10. 1. **opinio**, 'reputation' = existimatio: Sen. de Ben. vi. 43, 3 opinionem quidem et famam eo loco habeamus tamquam non ducere sed sequi debeat. This absolute

esse pretium omnis laboris sui fatentur, aeque poetas quam oratores sequitur, quoniam mediocres poetas nemo novit, bonos pauci. Quando enim rarissimarum recitationum fama in totam urbem penetrat, nedum ut per tot provincias innotescat? Quotus quisque, cum ex Hispania vel Asia, ne quid de Gallis nostris loquar, in urbem venit, Saleium Bassum requirit? Atque adeo si quis requirit, ut semel vidit, transit et contentus est, ut si picturam aliquam vel statuam vidisset. Neque hunc meum sermonem sic accipi volo tamquam eos quibus natura sua oratorium ingenium denegavit deterream a carminibus, si modo in hac studiorum parte oblectare otium et nomen inserere possunt famae. Ego vero omnem eloquentiam omnesque eius partes sacras et venerabiles puto, nec solum cothurnum vestrum aut

10. 2. *omnis* A, *omnes* CDH, om. B. *aeque* Put., *atque* codd. 3. *sequitur* $EV_2C\Delta DH$, and corr. A, *insequitur* AB. 4. *rarissimarum* codd., *clarissimarum* Steiner, *rarissima harum* Andresen. 5. *nedum* b, *medium* ABC (*metrum* H Sp. Put.). 8. *ut semel* Acidalius, *et semel* codd. 10. *sua* del. Andresen, Novak.

use is found frequently in Quintilian: see note on x. 5, 18. In Cicero *opinio* is generally used with a genitive, as 'malignitatis opinionem' in ch. 15. 6 below: cp. however pro Sulla, § 10: pro Leg. Manil. § 43.

2. **aeque . . . quam** occurs sometimes also in Plautus and Livy for the more classical *aeque . . . ac*. So Hist. ii. 10, 13; iv. 54, 8; v. 3, 11: Ann. ii. 52, 17; iv. 49, 9; xiv. 38, 7. In all these instances the construction is negative: D^r^. § 176.

3. **sequitur.** So Quint. iv. 1, 14 potentes sequitur invidia.

4. **rarissimarum,** 'so few and far between,'—of the productions of individuals, without implying that readings in general were scarce: cp. 9. 14 cum toto anno . . . unum librum excudit. Important works were produced only at intervals, though there are many evidences of a greater activity in the production of slighter pieces, especially in the domain of lyric poetry. Others take *rarissimarum* as = 'remarkable,' comparing Agr. iv. 7 mater rarae castitatis: ib. vii. 16 rarissima moderatio: and Sen. Controv. iv. 28 ad fin., homo rarissimi etiamsi non emendatissimi ingenii.

5. **nedum ut.** A rare construction, found, however, in Livy iii. 14, 6 ne voce quidem incommodi, nedum ut ulla vis fieret: cp. Quint. xii. 1, 39. For *nedum* after affirmative clauses, see on 25. 10.

quotus quisque, 'how seldom does any one,' &c. The formula literally means 'each unit of what whole number,' i. e. one in how many, and so 'how small a proportion,' 'how few.'

7. **Atque adeo.** 'Yes, and if any one does ask after him.' Cp. 14. 6 where it = immo potius.

8. **ut semel vidit.** This reminds us of Livy's admirer: nunquamne legisti Gaditanum quendam Titi Livi nomine gloriaque commotum ad visendum eum ab ultimo terrarum orbe venisse statimque ut viderat abisse? Plin. Epp. ii. 3, 8.

10. **sic accipi tamquam**: Quint. ii. 3, 10.

12. **oblectare otium.** The phrase occurs again, Ann. xii. 49, 4.

nomen inserere . . . famae: 'gain a niche in the temple of fame.' A similar expression is found Hist. ii. 61, 2 inserere sese fortunae: cp. Ann. vi. 2, 7 dum ignobilitatem suam magnis nominibus inserit.

13. **eloquentiam**: here practically synonymous with 'literature.' Literally 'utterance.'

14. **cothurnum vestrum.** Cp. 'the buskin'd stage' (Milton). So Hor. A. P. 80 contrasts the *soccus* (κρηπίς) or 'slipper' of comedy with the *grandes cothurni* of tragedy.

vestrum, while addressed to Maternus, is made to include the other tragic poets.

heroici carminis sonum, sed lyricorum quoque iucunditatem et elegorum lascivias et iamborum amaritudinem *et* epigrammatum lusus et quamcumque aliam speciem eloquentia habeat anteponendam ceteris al*tio*rum artium studiis credo. Sed tecum mihi, Materne, res est, quod, cum natura *te* tua in ipsam arcem eloquentiae ferat, errare mavis et summa adepturus in levioribus subsistis. Ut si in Graecia natus esses, ubi ludicras quoque artes exercere honestum est, ac tibi Nicostrati robur ac vires di dedissent, non paterer immanes istos et ad pugnam natos lacertos levitate iaculi aut iactu disci vanescere, sic nunc te ab auditoriis

16. *elegiorum* AB. *et* add. Acidalius. 17. *habeat* codd., *habet* Heumann, Halm, Müller. 18. *altiorum* Andresen, *aliarum* codd. and John. Qy. *alienarum ?* cp. 2. 17. 19. *te* add. Halm. *arcem* EV_2H, *artem* ABCΔD. 20. *adepturus* Acidalius, *adeptus* codd. (cp. *ingressuri* 33. 8). 23. *istos* ABD, *illos* EV_2CH. 24. [*iactu*] Andresen.

15. **sonum**, 'lofty tones.' Cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 54 addidit historiae maiorem sonum vocis: Quint. i. 8, 5 interim et sublimitate heroi carminis animus adsurgat: id. x. 1, 68 gravitas et cothurnus et sonus Sophocli.

iucunditatem, 'charm.' So Quintilian, of the lyric poet Simonides, 'iucunditate quadam commendari potest,' x. 1, 64, and of Horace 'plenus est iucunditatis et gratiae,' ib. § 96. Tr. 'the charming lyric, the wanton elegy, the biting satire, the playful epigram, and every other kind of literature.'

16. **elegorum**. This is the common form, e.g. miserabiles . . . elegos, Hor. Od. i. 33, 2: A. P. 77; exiguos, Tib. ii. 4, 13: Propert. v. 1, 135; Juv. i. 4. Ovid has *elegëia*, flebilis indignos elegeïa solve capillos, Am. iii. 9, 3: cp. cultis aut elegia comis, Mart. v. 30, 4. See Quint. x. 1, § 93.

lascivias, 'playfulness.' The word indicates exuberance of any kind, as against severe restraint: Hor. A. P. 106 ludentem lasciva (verba decent) severum seria dicta, i. e. 'sportive' as opposed to 'serious': Ep. ii. 2, 216 lasciva decentius aetas, 'that may more becomingly make merry.' So Quintilian says, Ovidius utroque (Tibullo et Propertio) lascivior sicut durior Gallus, x. 1, 93, where see note. *Lascivia* recurs twice in the Dialogue, chs. 26. 7 and 29. 7.

amaritudinem, 'acrimony.' The figurative use of this word occurs in Quintilian (x. 1, 117), Pliny the Younger, Seneca, and Valerius Maximus. Quint. x. 1, 96 Iambus . . . cuius *acerbitas* in Catullo, Bibaculo, Horatio . . . reperietur.

17. **habeat**. Though this use of the subj. is not strictly classical, the reading of the MSS. should be preserved.

18. **altiorum artium**. So, with special reference to philosophy, Hist. iv. 5, 5 ingenium inlustre altioribus studiis iuvenis admodum dedit: Quint. viii. 3, 2: ii. 1, 3. Cp. Plin. Ep. v. 16, 8 ut qui se ab ineunte aetate altioribus studiis artibusque dederit.

19. **natura . . . ferat**: Cic. de Orat. iii. § 35 quo sua quemque natura maxime ferre videatur: Brut. § 204.

arcem eloquentiae. Quint. xii. 11, 28 Cicerone arcem tenente eloquentiae.

20. **in levioribus subsistis**. Cp. Quint. i. Pr. § 20 altius tamen ibunt qui ad summa nitentur quam qui . . . protinus circa ima substiterint: Sen. Controv. x. pr. § 16 ad summa evasurus iuvenis nisi modicis contentus esset.

21. **ludicras . . . artes**: 'the accomplishments of the arena.' Seneca supplies a definition: ludicrae sunt quae ad voluptatem oculorum atque aurium tendunt, Ep. 88, 22. Cp. Quint. iii. 6, 18.

22. **Nicostratus** was an ornament of the prize-ring in the earlier part of the first century. Quintilian had seen him when a young man (ii. 8, 14), and Pausanias (v. 21, 11) gives his name as a victor in the Olympic Games.

23. **ad pugnam**, i. e. ad pugilatum.

24. **iaculi . . . iactu**. Tacitus in the Dialogue does not avoid the juxtaposition of the same or similar words: 2. 6 studiose . . . studiorum: 7. 2 latus

et theatris in forum et ad causas et ad vera proelia voco, cum praesertim ne ad illud quidem confugere possis, quod plerisque patrocinatur, tamquam minus obnoxium sit offendere poetarum quam oratorum studium. Effervescit enim vis pulcherrimae naturae tuae, nec pro amico aliquo, sed, quod periculosius est, pro Catone offendis. Nec excusatur offensa necessitudine officii aut fide advocationis aut fortuitae et subitae dictionis impetu: meditatus videris *et* elegisse personam notabilem et cum auctoritate dicturam. Sentio quid responderi possit: hinc ingentes existere adsensus, haec in ipsis auditoriis praecipue laudari et mox omnium sermonibus ferri. Tolle igitur quietis

26. *consurgere* DΔ. 27. *offendere* codd., *offensae* Acidalius, Halm. 32. *et* John, *aut* codd., om. Put., *ultro* Schopen, *atque* Baehrens, *etiam* Halm, Novak. Qy. *vel? med. videris elegisse personam et notabilem et*, &c. Heller. 33. *hinc* Hb Put., *hic* most codd. 34. *existere* Muretus, *ex his* codd. Heller supposes that 'concursus' has dropped out, and would read 'hinc ingentes concursus, ex his assensus.' *haec* EV$_2$CΔ, *hoc* D, *hic* AB, *hinc* Hb.

. . . oblatus: 7. 5 defendere . . . defendere: 7. 7 principem . . . principum: 8. 24 acceperint . . . acceperint: 22. 17 tecto tegi: 32. 12 armis . . . armatus: 33. 2 videris . . . videaris: 34. 5 interesse . . . interesset.

24. **vanescere**: poetical, and in Quintilian. Cp. Hist. v. 7, 6: Ann. ii. 40, 6.

25. **theatris.** The hall of a theatre was sometimes utilized for purposes of public reading.

forum . . . vera proelia. This figure is of frequent occurrence in the language of rhetoricians: e. g. Quint. x. 1, §§ 29–30 nos vero (of orators as opposed to poets) armatos stare in acie et summis de rebus decernere et ad victoriam niti: see Introd., p. lxi.—Instead of rejecting *ad causas* (with some critics) we ought to compare 34. 26 fori . . . iudiciorum: ib. 15 et causis et iudiciis (where see note): Quint. x. 1, 36 fori . . . periculorum.

26. **plerisque.** See on 2. 10. This construction (after *patrocinari*) is found in Terence.

27. **obnoxium offendere.** With the adj. *offensae* would have been more usual: but for similar constructions in Tacitus, cp. ch. 16. 11 manifestus . . . accingi, where see note.

28. **effervescit,** a favourite figure with Cicero: e. g. quare si cui nimium efferbuisse videtur huius vis, pro Cael. § 77.

30. **necessitudine officii,** 'the obligations of friendship.' It seems best to take *necessitudo* here as = *necessitas*: cp. Ann. iii. 40, 8 peccandi necessitudo: xii. 30, 2 necessitudinem pugnae: the form of the word being probably motived by the juxtaposition of *officium*. Others understand the word of the friendly relations (= familiaritas) that find expression in service rendered (officium): so Andresen, G. and G.

31. **fide advocationis,** 'the responsibility of an advocate.'

fortuitae, &c., 'the hurry of a random and extempore utterance.' Cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 150 subitam et fortuitam orationem: Tac. Germ. xi. 4 nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit.

32. **meditatus,** sc. *esse* (John): it is believed that you thought out and carefully selected, &c. For the omission of *esse* cp. 19. 15 odoratus videretur: also Hist. iii. 75, 16 crimen adgnovisse et a partibus Vitellii amolitus videbatur: ib. iii. 6, 5 ferebatur . . . criminatus: iv. 39, 13 ferebatur hortatus.

35. **mox,** 'thereafter,' furnishes an antithesis to 'in ipsis auditoriis.' Cp. 17. 11.

ferri, of what is in general circulation, 'current topics.' So Liv. iv. 5, 6: rumoribus ferre, Ann. xv. 46, 3: vulgo ferri: Suet. Iul. 20. Cp. Quint. x. 1, 23 ad fin.: ib. § 129: 7 § 30.

Tolle igitur, &c. 'No more, than, of the plea that you wish for peace and quietness' (and so prefer poetry to eloquence), 'since you deliberately choose an adversary who is too powerful for you.' Andresen and others have wrongly assumed a lacuna after *ferri*. The sen-

et securitatis excusationem, cum tibi sumas adversarium superiorem. Nobis satis sit privatas et nostri saeculi controversias tueri, in quibus [expressis] si quando necesse sit pro periclitante amico potentiorum aures offendere, et probata sit fides et libertas excusata.'

11. Quae cum dixisset Aper acrius, ut solebat, et intento ore, remissus et subridens Maternus 'Parantem' inquit 'me non minus diu accusare oratores quam Aper laudaverat (fore enim arbitrabar ut a laudatione eorum digressus detrectaret poetas atque carminum studium prosterneret) arte quadam mitigavit, concedendo iis qui causas agere non possent ut versus facerent. Ego autem sicut in causis agendis efficere aliquid et eniti fortasse possum, ita recitatione tragoediarum et ingredi famam. auspicatus sum

38. *expressis* ABDH, *expressit* C, *exponendis* Wagener, *exercendis* Inge. Qy. *expendendis? expromendis?* (24. 11.) 39. *sit expressit pro* E, *sit et expressit pro* V_2.
11. 2. *parantem inquit me* Walther, *parantem me inquit* Bekker, Halm, *parant enim quid me* $EV_2C\Delta$, *parant quid enim me* ABDH (*parat* H *perant* D). 3. *laudat* HSp., *laudavit* Acidalius.

tence beginning *Tolle igitur* furnishes a prompt refutation of all that can be said in defence of such (republican) poetry: it is a greater disturber of repose, by the enmity it excites, than anything connected with the profession of the bar, which Maternus had abandoned in order to secure repose. For *adversarium superiorem*, cp. 2. 2 cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur, with note.

37. **controversias tueri**: Cic. de Or. i. § 169 ut amicorum controversias causasque tueatur.

39. **fides ... libertas.** For the chiasmus, see Dr. § 235.

Chs. 11–13. *Maternus replies to Aper. The praise of Poetry.*

11. 1. **intento ore**, of the expression of Aper's countenance, 'with the utmost gravity': not as C. and B., 'with vehemence of utterance.' The antithesis is *remissus et subridens*: cp. Ann. xiii. 3, 3 intentus ipse et ceteri ... nemo risui temperare. There is something of the same antithesis (*intentus* = 'in thorough earnest') in Ann. i. 52, 8. So below, 14. 3 ex ipsa intentione singulorum, where Vergil's 'intentique ora tenebant' (Aen. ii. 1) illustrates the meaning.

3. **diu.** Cp. 25. 2 diu contradicendum: Ann. vi. 27, 15 neque nobilitas diutius demonstranda est. See on 6. 27, above.

laudaverat. The plpf. is here quite appropriate. It is anterior to *mitigavit* ('put me in a better temper') and even to *parantem*. Aper eulogises rhetoric: then Maternus (thinking that he will proceed to attack poetry) gets ready to answer him: but Aper soothes his ruffled susceptibilities.

5. **arte quadam**, 'cleverly,' 'by a sort of stratagem.' Cp. Cic. de Or. 1 § 74 id enim ipsum ... artificio quodam es consecutus.

7. **sicut ... ita** = μέν ... δέ. The formula (though not so common as *ut ... ita*) is frequent in Livy: e. g. xxi. 35, 10 pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita arrectiora sunt: cp. ib. 39, 7.

efficere et eniti. So Cic. Amic. § 59 eniti et efficere: and cp. 9. 29, above, elaborare et efficere.

8. **ingredi famam auspicatus sum**, 'I took the first step on the path of fame.' The infin. after *auspicari* is very uncommon: cp. Sen. Ep. 83, 3 calendis Ianuariis . . . auspicabar in Virginem desilire, I opened the year ('for luck') with, &c.: Plin. xxxi. 41 primus (aquam Marciam) in urbem ducere auspicatus est Ancus Martius: Suet. Nero xxii. ad aram Iovis cantare. The more usual construction (with an acc.) survives in Burke's peroration on Conciliation with America,

(cum quidem *sub* Nerone improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem Vatinii potentiam fregi), *et* hodie si quid in nobis notitiae ac nominis est, magis arbitror carminum quam orationum gloria partum. Ac iam me deiungere a forensi labore constitui, nec comitatus istos et egressus aut frequentiam salutantium concupisco, non magis quam aera et imagines, quae etiam me nolente in domum meam inruperunt. Nam statum hucusque ac securitatem melius innocentia tueor quam eloquentia,

9. *sub Nerone* Novak, *in neronē* AB, *in Nerone* DC, *in nerone* H: *imperante Nerone* Luc. Müller, *in Neroniis* Osann, *enormem et* Wolff (Agr. x. 13). 10. *Vatinii* Gronovius, *vaticinii* codd. *et* add. Lipsius. 11. *nominis* Hb, *numinis* cett. codd. 12. *diiungere* Wölfflin, Baehrens, and Novak (who compares Quint. ii. 15, 2; iii. 4, 10). 13. *salutantium* Schele, *salutationum* codd. 15. *inruperunt* ACDΔHV_2, *irrumpunt* BE. 16. *hucusque ac* Lipsius, *cuiusque ad* codd.

'we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America with the old warning of the Church, *Sursum corda!*' Such pleonasms as *ingredi . . . auspicatus sum* are not uncommon with phrases indicating commencement: Ann. xiii. 10, 5 ut principium anni inciperet mense Decembri: Germ. xxx. 1 initium sedis inchoant: Hist. i. 39, 11 initio caedis orto. Cp. Suet. Cal. liv. ut initium in scenam prodeundi licentia noctis auspicaretur.

9. **sub Nerone.** This is the easiest reading, and is more common in Tacitus than *imperante Nerone*. For the confusion between *in* and *sub*, Novak compares Liv. xxvi. 43, 4 *sub* Carthaginiensibus.

studiorum sacra . . . profanantem: 'that desecrated the sanctuary of literature.' Cp. Quint. x. 1, 92 nos sacra litterarum colentes: Ov. Am. iii. 9, 19 Scilicet omne sacrum mors importuna profanat. Nothing is known in regard to the allusion here made.—Heller proposes to invert the clauses, inserting *cum quidem . . . fregi* after *fortasse possum*, on the ground that such a victory was much more probably the result of an action at law: but *cum quidem fregi* goes much better with the perfect *auspicatus sum* than with the general statement advanced in *efficere aliquid . . . possum*.

10. **Vatinii.** Though the name is doubtful, this is probably the Vatinius of Ann. xv. 34 (inter foedissima eius aulae ostenta): the 'Beneventanus sutor' of Juv. v. 46 (where see Mayor's note).

in nobis. The MS. reading may be supported by Ann. xiv. 43, 6 quidquid hoc in nobis auctoritatis est.

11. **notitiae ac nominis.** The phrase recurs at 36. 19. For *notitia*, see on 5. 17. Cp. 13. 6.

12. **deiungere me,** to 'unharness myself from,' or to 'throw off the yoke of' my labours at the bar: a very rare word.

13. **comitatus . . . et egressus**: cp. 6. 14, and 'deducit aut salutat aut prosequitur' at 9. 9. **Istos** refers to Aper's previous eulogy.

frequentiam salutantium, 'crowded levees:' cp. fremitus salutantium 13. 21; Ann. iv. 41, 10 adempta salutantum turba. So Verg. Georg. ii. 462 Si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis Mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam, &c.: Jerome, Ep. 43 (quoted by Baiter on Hor. Sat. i. 6, 101) pudet dicere frequentiam salutandi qua aut ipsi quotidie ad alios pergimus aut ad nos venientes ceteros exspectamus: Quint. xii. 11, 18 vanus salutandi labor. Frequent references occur in Juvenal and Martial to the burdensome duty of attending such levees.

14. **imagines.** Cp. on 8. 25.

15. **statum . . . tueor.** So Cic. ad Fam. ix. 16, 6 ego me non putem tueri meum statum sic posse ut, &c. In this connexion, *status* is used with reference to its literal meaning, viz. the position taken up by a combatant to meet an attack: Cic. Or. § 129 magno semper usi impetu saepe adversarios de statu omni deiecimus. Cp. on *deiectus* 26. 19.

16. **hucusque,** 'till now.' This is said to be the first instance of the use of the word in this temporal signification. It generally means 'to this extent:' cp. however, illuc usque fidum, Ann. xv. 54, 13, 'up to that point' (temporal) opp. to 'tunc primum.'

nec vereor ne mihi umquam verba in senatu nisi pro alterius discrimine facienda sint.

12. Nemora vero et luci et secretum ipsum, quod Aper increpabat, tantam mihi adferunt voluptatem ut inter praecipuos carminum fructus numerem quod non in strepitu nec sedente ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordes ac lacrimas reorum componuntur, sed secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia fruiturque sedibus sacris. Haec eloquentiae primordia, haec penetralia; hoc primum habitu cultuque commoda mortalibus in illa casta et nullis contacta vitiis pectora influxit; sic oracula loquebantur. Nam lucrosae huius et sanguinantis eloquentiae usus recens et malis moribus natus, atque, ut tu dicebas, Aper, in locum teli repertus. Ceterum felix illud et, ut more nostro

17. *nisi* om. C.
12. 1. *increpat* B. 5. *sedit* A^1EV_2. 7. *commoda* codd., *commendata* Muretus and most edd. 8. *in* $EV_2C\Delta DH$, *et* AB. *illa* EV_2DCHb, *ista* AB. 9. *sanguinantis* codd., *saginantis* ed. Juntina 1527, *sanguine madantis* Schulting, *sanguini inhiantis* Bezzenberger. 10. *et malis* ABDH, *et ex malis* $EV_2C\Delta$.

12. 1. **Nemora vero,** &c. See end of ch. 9. *Secretum ipsum,* 'retirement in itself:' for the substantival use of the adj., see Introd. p. lv.

3. **strepitu.** Aper, on the other hand, had spoken of 'iucunditas urbis,' 9 ad fin. Schopen's proposal to read 'in strepitu urbis' may be rejected as unnecessary: cp. Hor. Ep. ii. 2, 79 inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos. For the worry occasioned by the continual noise of Rome (strepitum Romae, Hor. Car. iii. 29, 12) see Juvenal's Third Satire, ad fin.

sedente ante ostium litigatore. Similar references are of common occurrence in Horace: Ep. i. 5, 31 atria servantem postico falle clientem: ii. 1, 104 mane domo vigilare, clienti promere iura: Sat. i. 1, 10 sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat. Clients had no respect for hours, and came both late and early.

4. **sordes ac lacrimas.** So Cic. Orat. post redit. ad populum § 7 cotidianae lacrimae sordesque lugubres: ad Fam. xiv. 2, 2 iacere in lacrimis et sordibus. Other Ciceronian combinations are 'fletus sordesque,' 'in sordibus, lamentis, luctuque iacere,' 'spectaculum sordium atque luctus et tanti squaloris.'

6. **Haec primordia,** &c. Tr. 'Here was the cradle, here the very shrine of eloquence; such was the mien and style with which,' &c. Eloquence is personified, as again at 37. 33. For *habitu cultuque* cp. Ann. i. 10, 31 : ii. 59, 8.

7. **commoda,** 'ingratiating herself with.' The change to *commendata,* accepted by most editors, seems to have been motived by the wish to connect this phrase more closely than the writer intended with the preceding ablatives.

8. **et nullis,** for 'nec ullis,' as 28. 24: Agr. xvi. 26 : Germ. x. 13.

sic (i.e. in the language of poetry) is commonly adopted for the MS. *hic* ('in this solitude?').

9. **lucrosae huius,** &c. 'This gain-getting eloquence of ours, reeking with human blood, is a modern invention, the growth of a depraved condition of society,' cp. Quint. i. 12, 16, and xii. 7, 3. *Sanguinantis* contains a reference to the capital convictions obtained by such men as Eprius Marcellus and Vibius Crispus referred to by Aper above.

10. **malis moribus.** Helmreich defends this reading by reference to Ann. iv. 17, 5 and vi. 16, 6.

ut tu dicebas: ch. 5 ad fin.

11. **in locum teli**: cp. ingenii loco, 26. 10.

Ceterum, 'on the other hand,' shows that in the preceding sentence *nam* is not adversative, as at 9. 1.

loquar, aureum saeculum, et oratorum et criminum inops, poetis et vatibus abundabat, qui bene facta canerent, non qui male admissa defenderent. Nec ullis aut gloria maior *mortalibus* aut augustior honor, primum apud deos, quorum proferre responsa ac interesse epulis ferebantur, deinde apud illos dis genitos sacrosque reges, inter quos neminem causidicum, sed Orphea ac Linum ac, si introspicere altius velis, ipsum Apollinem accepimus. Vel si haec fabulosa nimis et composita videntur, illud certe mihi concedes, Aper, non minorem honorem Homero quam Demostheni apud posteros, nec angustioribus terminis

14. *ullis* $EV_2C\Delta D$, *ullus* AB. *maior mortalibus aut*, after Michaelis and Gudeman, *more* (*mor* B) . . . *aut* ABV_2, *more aut* C, *in ore aut* D (*ne aut illud clamore* . . . *aut* Hb) *maior aut* Lipsius, Halm, *maior erat aut* Ritter. 17. *causidicum* Heumann, *causidicorum* codd. (which may be right: cp. 21. 1). 18. *ac Linum ac* ABEH, *et Linum ac* $V_2CD\Delta$. *velis* $ABC\Delta H$, *velis vel* D, *vel* EV_2. 19. *videantur* D, and so at first B. 20. *concedis* codd. (emend. Acidalius: cp. 33. 22). *honorem* codd., *honorem haberi* Maehly.

12. **criminum.** Some translate 'charges,' comparing Ann. xi. 12, 4 strueret crimina et accusatores: iii. 54, 4. But 'male admissa,' below shows that the word here = delictorum, peccatorum (as frequently in Juvenal, e.g. i. 75), and that the thought resembles 41. 7 Quodsi inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator sicut inter sanos medicus.

poetis et vatibus. See on 9. 9.

13. **male admissa.** *Admissum* is even used substantively (for *delictum*), Hist. iv. 44. 7 ne . . . cunctis sub Nerone admissis data impunitas videretur: Ann. xi. 4, 14 de admissis Poppaeae: cp. Cic. Part. Or. 35, 120, &c.

14. **gloria . . . honor.** Cp. 41. 11 sic minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est.

mortalibus is adopted in the text on the theory of the existence of a lacuna of some kind. Vahlen however denies this, contending that, by a displacement of the letters, *gloria maior* became *gloria iamor* or *gloriamor*. Without the noun *ulli* must be used as a substantive, on the analogy of *nulli*: the only other Tacitean instance of this occurs Ann. xi. 27, 1 ullis mortalium: cp. Cic. Tusc. i. 39, 94.

15. **proferre responsa.** In this capacity the poets were said to be *ὑποφῆται τῶν θεῶν*.

16. **interesse epulis.** Cp. Hor. Car. iv. 8, 29 Sic Iovis interest Optatis epulis impiger Hercules. We do not know of any specific instance of a poet being raised to this dignity; but other cases of heroes will occur to all—the Dioscuri, Romulus, Bacchus, Tantalus (*conviva deorum* Hor. Car. i. 28, 7), and Ixion. So generally Paus. viii. 2, 2 *Οἱ γὰρ δὴ τότε ἄνθρωποι ξένοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι θεοῖς ἦσαν ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας*: Catull. lxiv. 387.

illos . . . reges. For the emphasis, cp. Ann. xv. 52, 7 in illa invisa et spoliis civium exstructa domo.

17. **inter quos . . . accepimus.** There is no traditional instance, says Maternus, of a pleader having been admitted to intimate fellowship with those whom Homer calls *διογενεῖς* or *διοτρεφέες* (illos dis genitos) *βασιλῆες*.—It is not necessary to supply *fuisse* with 'accepimus:' for the use of accipere with an object cp. 40. 12 quem enim oratorem . . . accepimus?

18. **introspicere altius,** 'look further back' at the heroic past: cp. altius repetere. For another (apparently) absolute use of *introspicere*, see Ann. vi. 21, 12 quantum introspiceret, magis ac magis trepidus.

19. **composita,** 'fabricated.' Cp. Agr. xl. 11 fictum ac compositum. So Liv. iii. 10, 10 fabula composita: cp. Ann. xi. 27, 1 haud sum ignarus fabulosum visum iri . . . sed nihil compositum miraculi causa . . . tradam. **Fabulosa** occurs in Horace, Seneca, Pliny, and often in Quintilian. For the anastrophe, see Introd., p. lx.

famam Euripidis aut Sophoclis quam Lysiae aut Hyperidis includi. Plures hodie reperies qui Ciceronis gloriam quam qui Vergilii detrectent, nec ullus Asinii aut Messallae liber tam inlustris est quam Medea Ovidii aut Varii Thyestes.

13. Ac ne fortunam quidem vatum et illud felix contubernium comparare timuerim cum inquieta et anxia oratorum vita. Licet illos certamina et pericula sua ad consulatus evexerint, malo securum et quietum Vergilii secessum, in quo tamen neque apud divum Augustum gratia caruit neque apud populum Romanum

13. 3. *ad* Lipsius, *et* codd. *consulatus* C, *conventus* D, *cent'* A, *coetus* B.

22. **Euripidis aut Sophoclis.** In a comparison with Lysias and Hyperides, Euripides naturally comes first: magis accedit oratorio generi, Quint. x. 1, 68, where see note.

23. **Ciceronis.** For Cicero's detractors, see on chap. 18. That Vergil, too, was not without his critics, is clear from the Life of Donatus, ch. 43: cp. Suet. Calig. 34.

24. **liber** here of course (as at 38. 14, where see note) of a speech, written down and published. Asinius Pollio (75 B.C.–4 A.D.) and M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (64 B.C.–8 A.D.) are criticised together as orators by Quintilian x. 1, 113, where see notes. Other references to them occur in chs. 17, 18, and 21.

25. **Medea . . . Thyestes.** The conjunction of these two tragedies by Quintilian is also noteworthy: iam Vari Thyestes cuilibet Graecarum comparari potest. Ovidi Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum ille vir praestare potuerit si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisset, x. 1, 98. **L. Varius Rufus** had gained a high reputation as an epic poet, before he took to tragedy: cp Hor. Car. i. 6 Scriberis Vario . . . Maeonii carminis alite: Ep. ii. 1, 246: A. P. 55. He is known also as the friend of Vergil and Horace (Sat. i. 5, 40: 6, 55), and helped to edit the Aeneid after Vergil's death.

13. 1. **illud felix contubernium.** Cp. assiduitate contubernii, 5. 5, with note: Sen. Dial. vi. 10, 4 iam disicietur iste comitatus, iam contubernia ista sublato clamore solventur. The allusion is to the retired life of the poet (cp. securum et quietum . . . secessum, below), with its exclusive but delightful companionships, 'far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,' in contrast to the busy bustling life of the advocate, as described e.g. at 6. 3. It is not necessary how- to take the words as a refutation of what Aper had said at the end of ch. 9: Maternus knows and values the pleasures of solitude, 17 below.

3. **certamina et pericula** is taken by all the commentators as a hendiadys for *certamina periculosa*. Is is not possible, however, that while *pericula* has here its usual meaning of 'actions at law,' *certamina* may refer to less formal combats, such as those in the senate? Cp. 5. 32 eius modi certaminum rudem: also, et causis et iudiciis 34. 15. *Pericula* are contrasted with 'privatae causae' in Quint. vi. 1, 36.

ad consulatus evexerint. For the expression, cp. Hist. ii. 75, 8 e gregario ad summa militiae provectum: Vell. Pat. ii. 90, 1 quem usque in tertium consulatum . . . amicitia principis evexerat. *Eveho* in this sense is poetical: Hor. Car. i. 1, 5; Verg. Aen. vi. 130. Gudeman, who would read *vel ad*, rightly argues that an 'enumeration of some of the positions which an orator might hope to attain through his eloquence decidedly weakens the force of the passage,' and therefore rejects 'ad opes et' (Ritter), 'ad sacerdotia, *vel* praeturas et' (Vahlen). On the other hand *vel* (written ꝉ) may account for the confusion in the MSS. See Introd. p. lxxx.

4. **securum et quietum.** So quietis et securitatis, 10. 35.

Vergilii secessum. In the last years of his life Vergil had a country-house at what is now called Posilippo, to the west of Naples. For *secessum*, cp. Quint. x. 3, 28 'silentium et secessum.'

notitia. Testes Augusti epistulae, testis ipse populus, qui auditis in theatro Vergilii versibus surrexit universus et forte praesentem spectantemque Vergilium veneratus est sic quasi Augustum. Ne nostris quidem temporibus Secundus Pomponius Afro Domitio vel dignitate vitae vel perpetuitate famae cesserit. Nam Crispus iste et Marcellus, ad quorum exempla me vocas, quid habent

8. [*Vergilium*] Ernesti.

6. **Augusti epistulae.** Samples have come down to us in Donatus's Life of Vergil, ch. 31, and Macrob. i. 24, 11: cp. Claudian, Epp. 3, 23. See A. Weichert's Imp. Caesaris Augusti scriptorum reliquiae, i. p. 159.

7. **versibus.** The reference to the poet's accidental presence at the performance makes it probable that some lines from one of his well-known works had chanced to be quoted in the course of a dramatic representation. Otherwise we know from Donatus (Life, ch. 26) and from Servius (on Ecl. vi. 11) that Vergil's Eclogues, particularly the Sixth, were often rendered on the stage, probably as interludes: if this is what is meant here, *forte* may refer to the fact that the poet was not usually resident in Rome.

8. **spectantem** defines *praesentem* more nearly: Vergil was present as a spectator. For the repetition of the name, which is omitted by some editors, cp. Hist. ii. 101, 5 ne ab aliis apud Vitellium anteirentur, pervertisse ipsum Vitellium videntur: Ann. xii. 64, 10 perdita prius Domitia Lepida, muliebribus causis, quia Lepida, &c.

sic quasi, 'just as if he had been Augustus himself:' cp. Cic. ad Fam. ix. 16, 2 ut quasi aurum igni, sic benevolentia . . . possit. This act of homage was regarded by the emperor as his own peculiar right: cp. what Suetonius tells us about Augustus's displeasure when it was rendered to his adopted sons: Eisdem praetextatis adhuc assurectum ab universis in theatro et a stantibus plausum gravissime questus est, Aug. ch. lvi; Plin. Panegyr. liv. 2.

9. **Pomponius Secundus** (for the inversion in the text see on ch. 1) was consul suffectus in A.D. 44, and defeated the Chatti as legatus in Upper Germany in 50. For this success he obtained from Claudius the 'ornamenta triumphalia,' but Tacitus tells us that this was not his greatest title to fame: modica pars famae eius apud posteros, in quis carminum gloria praecellit, Ann. xii. 28 ad fin. Quintilian says of him (x. 1, 98): eorum (tragicorum) quos viderim longe princeps Pomponius Secundus, quem senes quidem parum tragicum putabant, eruditione ac nitore praestare confitebantur. The fact that he was a man of affairs as well as a poet is often alluded to: cp. Plin. vii. § 80 in Pomponio consulari poeta: xiii. § 83 apud P. S., vatem civemque clarissimum. His friend, Pliny the Elder, wrote his life in two books: see Plin. Ep. iii. 5.

Afro Domitio. The same inversion occurs in Quint. x. 1, 86. In § 118 Quintilian ranks him, along with Iulius Africanus, far above all contemporary orators: eorum quos viderim Domitius Afer et Iulius Africanus longe praestantissimi. Afer was a native of Nismes, and first acquired repute by the prosecution of Agrippina's cousin Claudia Pulchra: Tiberius declared that he was a 'born orator' (suo iure disertum, Ann. iv. 52, 18). He was Quintilian's teacher and model: v. 7, 7: Plin. Ep. ii. 14.

10. **dignitate vitae.** Tacitus tells us in the Annals (l. c.) that he was unscrupulous, 'modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere.' He placed his rhetorical ability at the disposal of the government: mox capessendis accusationibus aut reos tutando prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit, ibid.

perpetuitate famae. Quintilian tells us that Afer would have best consulted his reputation if he had retired earlier from the practice of his profession (xii. 11, 3): cp. Tac. l. c. aetas extrema multum etiam eloquentiae dempsit dum fessa mente retinet silentii impatientiam.

cesserit. For a similar use of the perfect subjunctive, cp. Quint. x. 1, 101 at non historia cesserit Graecis.

Crispus iste et Marcellus: see on 8. 1 and 5. 31.

11. **vocas.** Cp. Ann. iv. 43, 10 quod si vatum, annalium ad testimonia vocentur.

in hac sua fortuna concupiscendum? Quod timent, an quod timentur? Quod, cum cotidie aliquid rogentur, ii quibus praestant indignantur? Quod adligati *omni* adulatione nec imperantibus umquam satis servi videntur nec nobis satis liberi? Quae haec summa eorum potentia est? tantum posse liberti solent. Me vero dulces, ut Vergilius ait, Musae, remotum a sollicitudinibus et curis et necessitate cotidie aliquid contra animum faciendi, in illa sacra illosque fontes ferant; nec insanum ultra

12. *in hac sua* most codd., *in hac praesenti* (p̄nti) *sua* HVSp. 13. *aliquid* edd., *aliqui* codd. *vel ii* Andresen, Müller. *quibus praestant* codd., *quibus non pr.* Lipsius (Halm suggests *quibus praesto non sunt*, or *opem nullam praestant*). 14. *omni* Walther, *cū* ABE, *cum* CDV$_2$H, *communi* Schneider, *humili* Schulting, Müller, *canina* Halm. 19. *sacra* codd., *secreta* Wolff, *sacra nemora* Maehly, Helmreich. *illosque* (*istosque*) codd., *illosque ad* Ritter and most edd. (*illasque frondes* Haupt).

13. **ii quibus praestant**, sc. id, quod rogati sunt, or 'aliquid,' as with *rogentur*. Cp. 37. 15; 8. 6. Not a day passes but they are asked for something or other: yet successful suitors chafe under the obligations which they incur to such persons as these: their favours bring them in return nothing but bad blood. Cp. Ann. iv. 18 ad fin.—Buchholz's explanation of this passage is unnecessarily ingenious. Taking *rogentur* of 'inviting' and reading (for MS. *aliqui*) not *aliquid*, but *in aliquid*, or *ab aliquo*, or *aliquo*, he understands the allusion to be to the vexation of those who, having felt bound to invite such people as Crispus and Marcellus, found their invitation accepted: *praestant* or *praesto sunt*, or *se praestant*.

14. **adligati omni adulatione**, 'held fast in the fetters of abject servility.' *Adligati* = obstricti, devincti, 'enmeshed by': cp. furto, metu, scelere adligari. So Sen. Dial. ix. 5, 4 utique movebimus nec adligati metu torpebimus. **Omni** (for MSS. *cum*) is undoubtedly the true reading: cp. *omni eruditione*, 2. 14, where CEV have *omni* and ABHD *cum*. So too at 26. 28, C gives *in omne*, for *in commune*, an example of the confusion caused by the use of contractions in the archetype.

16. **liberti**, sc. principis.

17. **ut Vergilius ait**: Georg. ii. 475 Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae . . . accipiant.

sollicitudinibus et curis. For the combination, cp. Cic. de Fin. v. § 57.

18. **contra animum**, 'against my inclination,' said of something that 'goes against the grain': Sen. Dial. ii. 19, 2.

19. **in illa sacra illosque fontes.** For *sacra* in the *local* sense of 'shrines' or 'sacred' precincts, 'holy places' ('Cultstätten,' John), cp. Hist. iii. 33, 16 cum omnia *sacra* profanaque in ignes considerant, solum Mefitis templum stetit ante moenia, loco seu numine defensum: Ann. i. 51, 4 profana simul et sacra . . . solo aequantur. Gudeman points out that the shrines of the Muses and a neighbouring spring are invariably associated, comparing Paus. ix. 29, 3: Plut. de Pyth. Orac. 17: Livy i. 21: Juv. iii. 13 nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur, with Mayor's note ad loc. With both *sacra* and *fontes*, *in* probably = 'towards': cp. *ad* and ἐς in Greek. In view, however, of the fact that the sanctuaries of the Muses were always located on the top of the mountains, Gudeman prefers to take *in* in the sense of 'up towards': cp. 10. 19 in arcem ferat: 19. 16 in caelum laudibus ferebantur. There is thus no need to insert *ad* before *fontes*, as most editors do: still less for Haupt's *illasque frondes*, a suggestion made on the ground that *in fontes* must inevitably mean immersion! For *fontes* cp. the well-known passages Lucr. i. 227 Iuvat integros accedere fontes: Hor. Car. i. 26, 6 O quae fontibus integris Gaudes: ibid. iii. 4, 25 Vestris amicum fontibus et choris.

19. **nec insanum**, &c. 'Let me withdraw from the distractions and the uncertainty of the bar, and no longer expose myself with beating heart to the rapturous

et lubricum forum famamque pallentem trepidus experiar. Non me fremitus salutantium nec anhelans libertus excitet, nec incertus futuri testamentum pro pignore scribam, nec plus habeam quam quod possim cui velim relinquere;

Quandoque enim fatalis et meus dies
Veniet:

20. *pallentem* Hb., *pallantem* AC, ('das umgehende Volksgerede,' John), *palantem* BDE, *fallentem* Schurzfleisch. 24. *quandoque enim* codd. (see note), *quandocumque* (om. *enim*) Put., *quandoque olim* Steiner. 25. *veniet* Hb, *veniat* ADCV₂, *venerit* Ernesti, [*quandoque . . . veniet*] Ritter.

excitement of renown.' For *nec* with subjunctive of wish or command, cp. 22. 24 nec . . . determinet: 32. 1 nec quisquam respondeat: Hist. ii. 76, 10 nec speciem adulantis expaveris: G. and G. p. 921.

nec ultra. This use is common enough in Tacitus, Hist. i. 16, 9; ii. 54, 11; 62, 1: cp. Ann. i. 17, 19 ne ultra sub vexillis tenerentur: v. 9, 5 neque facturam ultra: Hist. iii. 62, 3, ne quam ultra spem foverent. So Livy ii. 19, 2 nec ultra bellum Latinum . . . dilatum.

insanum of the 'mad racket' of the forum: cp. Verg. Georg. ii. 502 nec ferrea iura Insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit: Propert. iv. 1, 134: and 'insanissima contio' (of a 'rowdy' meeting), Cic. pro Mil. § 45. For *insanum* in an active sense (of what drives to madness) cp. Luc. Phars. vii. 413: Ov. Fast. iv. 364.

20. **famam pallentem,** lit. 'fame that blanches the cheek.' There is no reference to fear; the phrase denotes the sickly pallor of anxious, excited desire, when the blood leaves the cheeks in the breathless excitement (*trepidus*) of a heart-stirring triumph. Cp. the well-known passage of Vergil (Georg. iii. 105), cum spes arrectae iuvenum exsultantiaque haurit Corda pavor pulsans. So (intransitively) of love of money, Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 78 ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore: Pers. iv. 47 viso si palles, improbe, nummo: cp. Lucan iv. 96 lucri pallida tabes: and of length of life, Juv. x. 189 hoc recto vultu, solum hoc et pallidus optas. *Pallens* is common enough as an epithet of *morbus*, *cura*, &c.: Verg. Aen. vi. 275 pallentes morbi: cp. pallida mors, Hor. Car. i. 4, 13.

experiar, lit. 'make trial of': cp. Hist. ii. 47, 4 Experti in vicem sumus ego ac fortuna. Maternus is ready to forego the 'raptures of renown.'

Non me, &c. The pronoun is emphatic: sc. whatever others may do.

21. **fremitus salutantium.** See on 11. 13.

anhelans libertus, an imperial messenger with a pressing commission. Cp. Agr. xl. 6 libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam: Hist. i. 58, 2 ministeria principatus per libertos agi solita.

incertus futuri: lit. 'not sure about the future,' a genitive of respect, expressing the thing in point of which a term is applied to a person (Roby, § 1320). So 'incerta ultionis,' Ann. ii. 75, 6; and often (like 'anxius') in poetry.

22. **pro pignore,** i. e. for security's sake, referring possibly to the personal safety of the testator during life (as Gilbert) but more probably to the stability of his testamentary settlement after death. The best guarantee which a testator could take, under bad emperors, for the validity of his dispositions, was to include in these a handsome legacy to the *princeps* himself. So of Rubellius Plautus, under Nero, Ann. xvi. 11, 3 nec defuere qui monerent magna ex parte heredem Caesarem nuncupare atque ita nepotibus de reliquo consulere: cp. xiv. 31, 1: Agric. xliii. 4 (a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem). Nero even passed a decree 'ut ingratorum in principem testamenta ad fiscum pertinerent' (Suet. Ner. 32; cp. Cal. 38): and Pliny speaks of Domitian as 'unus omnium, nunc quia scriptus, nunc quia non scriptus heres' (Panegyr. xlv.). For *pignus* Wolff compares Justin. xxvi. 1, 8 senex et orbus, ut qui nec aetatis nec pignoris respectu timeret.

24. **Quandoque . . veniet.** The striking expression 'fatalis et meus dies,' 'the day of doom for me,' seems to be an additional justification for Heller's proposal (Philol. 1892, p. 348) to take these words as a verse-quotation, possibly from one of Maternus's own tragedies. For *quandoque* in the sense of *aliquando* cp. Ann. i. 4 ad fin.: iv. 28, 3: vi. 20, 3.—*A priori* we might have expected *quandoque* to = *quan-*

statuarque tumulo non maestus et atrox, sed hilaris et coronatus, et pro memoria mei nec consulat quisquam nec roget.'

14. Vixdum finierat Maternus, concitatus et velut instinctus, cum Vipstanus Messalla cubiculum eius ingressus est, suspicatusque ex ipsa intentione singulorum altiorem inter eos esse sermonem, 'Num parum tempestivus' inquit 'interveni secretum consilium et causae alicuius meditationem tractantibus?'

14. 2. *cum* EV_2, *tum* ABCΔDH. *Vipstanus* C. A. Rupertus, *Vibanius* ADΔEV_2, *Libanius* B, *Vthanius* C, *Urbanius* HSp. [*eius*] Ernesti, Halm. 5. *et* codd., *aut* Halm.

docunque, as in old formulas, e.g. Gai. Dig. 7. 5, 7 (ut quandoque is mortuus sit, &c.): Suet. Caes. 81: cp. Ann. i. 6, 6: iv. 38, 3. If, on this interpretation, the *quandoque* clause is tacked on to *relinquere*, the *enim* (n) must disappear: *veniet* may stand (cp. trahet, Hor. Car. iv. 2, 34). If on the other hand it is connected with what follows, we must read *statuar* for *statuarque*, and *quandoque autem* for *quandoque enim*. Another alternative is to suppress both *enim* and the *que* in *statuarque*, and to take *quandoque* as = et quando, 'and when': in support of this Gudeman quotes Livius Andronicus ap. Gell. iii. 16, 11 Quando dies adveniet quem praefata Morta est.

24. **fatalis et meus dies.** These words convey no presentiment of a *violent* end, and it seems wrong to strain them, with the commentators, by discovering a reference to the half-uttered forebodings of Aper (ch. 10. ad fin.). That they indicate a natural death is probable from Plin. Ep. i. 12, 1 est luctuosissimum genus mortis, quod non ex natura nec fatalis videtur: cp. Velleius ii. 4 (where *fatalis mors* is opposed to 'mors conflata insidiis') and Suet. Caes. 89 percussorum Caesaris nemo sua morte defunctus est. In Orelli's Inscr. Lat. (2023) we find also 'Hic tuus fatalis dies.' In the same way *fatum* is frequently used of a natural death: Ann. i. 3, 12: ii. 42, 17: 71, 3. For the collocation, cp. 'longus et unus,' 17. 13.

26. **statuar**, lit. 'let my statue be set up': cp. Ov. Her. ii. 67 inter et Aegidas media statuaris in urbe: Hist. iii. 74, 7 templum seque in sinu deae sacravit: Cic. pro Arch. § 22 itaque etiam in sepulchro Scipionum putatur is (Ennius) esse constitutus in marmore. *Tumulo* is the abl. of rest in a place: Dr. § 57.

27. **consulat**, sc. 'senatum': **roget**, sc. 'principem': 'let no one take any steps to perpetuate my memory, either by a motion in the senate or by a petition to the emperor.' Maternus deprecates any action that would require special sanction, such as the erection of a statue in some public place (Ann. ii. 83) or a public funeral (Ann. iv. 15: vi. 11, 27). As a poet, he feels 'secure of immortality.'

Chs. 14, 15. *Entrance of Messalla, leading up to the discussion of the proper subject of the Dialogue.*

14. 1. **vixdum . . . cum**: quite a Ciceronian construction, e.g. ad Att. ix. 2, 4. Cp. 42. 1. For the epic rhythm of 'Vixdum finierat Maternus,' Heller compares Ov. Met. ii. 47 'Vix bene desierat' (Phaethon).

concitatus et velut instinctus, 'in a sort of ecstasy of inspiration.' Cp. Quint. x. 1, 90 Lucanus ardens et concitatus: xii. 10, 24 instinctis divino spiritu vatibus: and, of Plato, non hominis ingenio sed quodam Delphici . . . oraculo dei instinctus x. 1, 81.

2. **Vipstanus Messalla** was tribune of the seventh legion in the war between Vitellius and Vespasian (69), and wrote a history of the campaign which is cited by Tacitus (Hist. iii. 25, 28) for such events as the second battle of Bedriacum and the sack of Cremona, in which Messalla had taken an active part. In Hist. iii. 9 Tacitus speaks of him in terms of high commendation: claris maioribus, egregius ipse, et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas attulisset. For the fame which he acquired by his defence of his brother Aquilius Regulus, see on *fratris tui*, ch. 15. 4. Cp. Introd. p. xxxiv.

3. **intentione.** See on *intento ore* ch. 11. 1.

4. **parum tempestivus interveni** So Catulus, in the *de Oratore* of Cicero (ii. § 14) nos quidem nisi forte molesti intervenimus, venisse delectat.

secretum consilium, 'private delibera-

'Minime, minime' inquit Secundus, 'atque adeo vellem maturius intervenisses; delectasset enim te et Apri nostri accuratissimus sermo, cum Maternum ut omne ingenium ac studium suum ad causas agendas converteret exhortatus est, et Materni pro carminibus suis laeta, utque poetas defendi decebat, audentior et poetarum quam oratorum similior oratio.'

'Me vero' inquit 'et sermo iste infinita voluptate adfecisset, atque id ipsum delectat, quod vos, viri optimi et temporum nostrorum oratores, non forensibus tantum negotiis et declamatorio studio ingenia vestra exercetis, sed eius modi etiam disputationes adsumitis quae et ingenium alunt et eruditionis ac litterarum iucundissimum oblectamentum, cum vobis qui ista disputatis, adferunt, tum etiam iis ad quorum aures pervenerint.

9. *exhortatus* Hb Put., *et hortatus* cett. codd. Qy. *hortatus*? 10. *docebat* EV_2H. *ardentior* Baehrens. 12. *vero* B, *vere* cett. codd. [*et*] Halm. *iste* Halm: *ipse* codd. *et sermo iste et oratio* Andresen. 13. *et optimi temporum nostrorum oratores* Muretus: Halm formerly suggested *summi oratores*: *primi oratores* Novak. Qy. *eloquentissimi oratores*? 16. *eruditiones* most codd., *eruditionem* Rhenanus, Baehrens.

tion.' The *et* which follows gives a more specific definition: 'as, for example.' For **meditationem** (μελέτην) cp. Quint. iv. 2, 29 cum sit declamatio forensium actionum meditatio.

8. **sermo . . . oratio.** Cp. Quint. xii. 10. 43 Nam mihi aliam quandam videtur habere naturam sermo vulgaris, aliam viri eloquentis oratio. By the first is denoted little more than 'conversation'—a discourse in the language of ordinary life (Cic. Or. §§ 67, 184): *oratio* implies a higher level of effort, and a more finished style. So Cicero says of the philosophic style 'sermo potius quam oratio dicitur' Or. § 64. Thus *sermo* is often opposed to *contentio* ('sustained effort in speaking'): e.g. de Off. i. § 132: ii. § 48: de Or. iii. §§ 177, 203: and is defined in ad Herenn. iii. § 23 as 'oratio remissa et finitima cotidianae locutioni.'

ingenium ac studium. So Cic. de Or. i. § 131 ingenium studiumque: Plin. Ep. ix. 14: Quint. i. 2, 16.

10. **audentior** supplies an antithesis to *accuratissimus* above. Hist. ii. 2, 8.

12. **et . . . atque.** There is no other certain instance of the use of these correlatives: Dr. § 123, 4.

sermo iste. Most editors, following Andresen, add *et oratio*, on the mistaken supposition that, if *sermo* is used here in the restricted signification given to it above, the courteous Messalla would not have forgotten the *oratio* of Maternus. But apart from the difficulty thus arising out of the singular verb *adfecisset*, *sermo* is obviously employed in a general sense, 'conversation,' 'discourse,' 'dialogue,' 'debate': cp. altiorem . . . sermonem, at the beginning of the chapter.

13. **et**, 'and at the same time': cp. Ann. xvi. 12, 2 liberto et accusatori, where both words refer to the same person: ii. 88, 1 scriptores senatoresque. For this emphatic use of *oratores* (as opposed to *causidici*, *patroni*, or *advocati*) see on ch. 1. 4: cp. on 15. 4, oratoremesse contenderes.—If a word is to be added, *eloquentissimi* seems as suitable as any: the compendium for it may have dropped out, like *eloquentiae* in many codices, at 1, 3, and *ipsa eloquentia* at 8, 7.

16. **ingenium alunt**: cp. 33. 9. This expression occurs also in Cic. Brut. § 126: cp. Quint. i. 8, 8; ii. 5, 18; viii. pr. § 2; xii. 6, 6.

18. **pervenerint.** The tense is to be explained by inserting *adferent* (out of *adferunt*) after *tum etiam iis*. It is the wider circle referred to also at 32. 31 (not the present hearers) that is here meant.

Itaque hercule non minus probari video in te, Secunde, quod Iuli Africani vitam componendo spem hominibus fecisti plurium eius modi librorum, quam in Apro, quod nondum ab scholasticis controversiis recessit et otium suum mavult novorum rhetorum more quam veterum oratorum consumere.'

15. Tum Aper: 'Non desinis, Messalla, vetera tantum et antiqua mirari, nostrorum autem temporum studia inridere atque contemnere. Nam hunc tuum sermonem saepe excepi, cum oblitus et tuae et fratris tui eloquentiae neminem hoc tempore oratorem esse contenderes *parem* antiquis, eo, credo, audacius

20. *Africani* Nipperdey, *Asiatici* codd. *plurium* ABEV_2H : *plurimum* CΔD. 21. *quam damnari* Halm, *quam improbari* Andresen. *ab* AB, *a* DCH.
15. 1. *Non* BEH, *Num* AV_2CΔD, *Numquam* Baehrens. 5. *parem* add. Lipsius, with the alternative of *atque id* for *antiquis* : *si conferretur antiquis* Müller : [*antiquis*] Acidalius, Baehrens, John, Gudeman (who would read *eoque*: perhaps rather *idque eo* as Ann. iv. 11, 4; 39, 16; xiii. 45, 11).

19. **Itaque hercule.** So 30. 19; 39. 23.

20. **Africani.** Iulius Africanus shared along with Domitius Afer (see on 13. 9) the reputation of being the foremost orator of his time: Quint. x. 1, 118 and xii. 10, 11. He was a native of Gaul— a son of the Africanus whom Tacitus mentions (Ann. vi. 7) as 'e Santonis Gallica civitate' (Saintonge, to the North of the lower Garonne): a grandson of his, also an orator, is referred to by Pliny, vii. 6, 11.

hominibus, 'the literary world.'

21. **quam in Apro.** There is a real difficulty here. If Aper is included in the compliment paid above to the 'viri optimi,' &c., on the ground of their wide literary sympathies, it seems inconsistent now to say (even in irony) that he wins approval by sticking to 'scholasticae controversiae': cp. declamatorium studium, above. On this ground the emendations 'quam damnari' or 'quam improbari' have been proposed. But Messalla is only saying that Secundus gains fully as much praise for his literary interests as Aper does from *his* circle of admirers for his devotion to professional rhetoric. The implied reflexion on the tendencies of the new rhetoric brings out Aper's retort.

scholasticae controversiae. Quint. iv. 2, 92 and 97: 31. 3 below, and 35.

22. **novorum . . . veterum.** As contrasted with the narrow views which Aper is made here to represent (cp. 2. ad fin. contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat) the orators of former days were distinguished for broad culture and wide literary sympathies. For their poetical tastes see Cic. Acad. pr. ii. 16, 51 (Serv. Sulpicius Galba): Plin. Ep. v. 3, 5 (Q. Scaevola, Hortensius, M. Iunius Brutus, C. Licinius Calvus). Many of them studied history and law.

15. 1. **Non desinis** is wrongly taken as an interrogation ('Won't you give up?') with the enclitic omitted, Dr. § 31. But *nam* in the next sentence is against this.

vetera et antiqua. The same collocation recurs 16. 32 and 17. ad fin.

4. **fratris tui.** This was Aquilius Regulus, his brother probably on the mother's side. He was one of the most notorious of the *delatores*, and is frequently denounced by Pliny (omnium bipedum nequissimus, Ep. i. 5) both in that capacity and as a legacy hunter. His eloquence is however not denied: id. Ep. iv. 7, 4: vi. 2. Martial always mentions him with respect, e.g. i. 12: vi. 64.

5. **oratorem,** as opposed to 'horum temporum diserti, causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur,' ch. 1: cp. 14. 14, 26. 15, 30. 27, 32. 9.

eo audacius quod, 'with all the greater confidence inasmuch as you had no cause to fear,' &c.

quod malignitatis opinionem non verebaris, cum eam gloriam quam tibi alii concedunt ipse tibi denegares.'

'Neque illius' inquit 'sermonis mei paenitentiam ago, neque aut Secundum aut Maternum aut te ipsum, Aper, quamquam interdum in contrarium disputes, aliter sentire credo. Ac velim impetratum ab aliquo vestrum ut causas huius infinitae differentiae scrutetur ac reddat, quas mecum ipse plerumque conquiro. Et quod quibusdam solacio est, mihi auget quaestionem, quia video etiam Graiis accidisse ut longius absit *ab* Aeschine et Demosthene Sacerdos iste Nicetes, et si quis alius Ephesum vel Mytilenas concentu scholasticorum et clamoribus quatit,

6. *malignitatis* Rhenanus, *malignis iis* AB, *maligni in iis* C (*his* EV_2), *maligne in hiis* D, *maligni in* Δ, *malignus his* HSp., *maligni iudicis* Acidalius, *mal. hominis* Buchholz. 7. *ipsi* most codd. 10. *in* om. B. 12. *conquiro* $ABDCEV_2H$, *inquiro* corr. AB and C, Halm, Müller, *anquiro* Ribbeck. 14. *Graiis* Put., *gratis* codd., *Graecis* Dronke, Peter, Novak. *ab* add. Wesenberg (also in margin of Frankfort ed. 1542). 15. *iste* codd., *ille* Halm. *Nicetes* Lipsius, *enitet* codd. 16. *Mitylenas* AH. *concentu* Orelli, *concentus* ABE, *contentus* $DCV_2H\Delta$, *contentionibus* Nissen, Baehrens.

6. **malignitatis opinionem,** 'any imputation of petty jealousy' or spite. This genitive is common with *opinio*: Cic. de Off. ii. § 34 opinio probitatis ('character for' high principle): ad Att. vii. 2, 5 opinio integritatis: Liv. xlv. 38, 6: Caes. B. G. vii. 59, 5. Cp. on 10. 1.

8. **sermonis mei** = 'what I said.'

paenitentiam ago. This expression is peculiar to the Silver Age: cp. Petron. 132 nec minus ego ... paenitentiam agere sermonis mei coepi: Quint. ix. 3, 12 *non paeniturum* pro *non acturo paenitentiam*: Val. Max. iii. 4, 2: Curt. viii. 6, 23.

10. **disputes.** The subj. after quamquam occurs again 21. 29, 26. 16, 34. 13.

11. **impetratum.** This participle, after *velle*, common enough in Cicero, is found only here in Tacitus.

12. **plerumque** = saepe. See on 6. 8.

conquiro: Cic. Tim. 14, 51 primas causas conquirere. In the sense of 'rake together,' Ann. xiv. 44, 1 argumenta conquirere: Cic. de Or. iii. § 29.

13. **quod quibusdam solacio est,** i.e. the consciousness of 'being in the same boat.' Messalla means that the vast interval ('infinita differentia', above) that separates the rhetoric of the present day from the golden age of Roman oratory finds a parallel in Greece: it is even more noticeable there, he says, if you consider Demosthenes and the rhetoricians of Asia Minor on the one hand, and on the other Cicero and the foremost orators of our own time. To his mind this only makes the phenomenon all the more remarkable and its explanation more difficult (auget quaestionem).

14. **ut longius absit.** Two points are really made here, and are, after the manner of Tacitus, compressed into one period. He might have written *ut longe absit*, and then have added *atque etiam longius quam*, &c.: with *etiam Graiis* preceding, this would even have been more logical.

15. **Sacerdos Nicetes,** a contemporary rhetorician who had come from Smyrna to Rome, where Pliny the Younger was his pupil: v. Ep. vi. 6, 3. See also Seneca, Suas. iii. 6 (Nicetes suo impetu valde Graecis placuerat): Controv. ix. 25, 23, ed. Bursian. From Philostr. Vit. Soph. i. 19, 1 (ed. Kays.) we learn that his contemporaries thought him διθυραμβώδης καὶ ὑπόβακχος.

16. **concentu ... clamoribus**: of an audience shouting applause, as it were, in chorus. Cp. Fronto, Epist. ad M. Caes. i. 8 Quantos in oratione mea clamores concitavit quantoque concentu laudantium sit exceptum: Plin. Panegyr. ii. 6: xlvi. 2. So Quint. x. 1, 17 ille

quam Afer aut Africanus aut vos ipsi a Cicerone aut Asinio recessistis.'

16. 'Magnam' inquit Secundus 'et dignam tractatu quaestionem movisti. Sed quis eam iustius explicabit quam tu, ad cuius summam eruditionem et praestantissimum ingenium cura quoque et meditatio accessit?'

Et Messalla 'Aperiam' inquit 'cogitationes meas, si illud a vobis ante impetravero, ut vos quoque sermonem hunc nostrum adiuvetis.'

'Pro duobus' inquit Maternus 'promitto; nam et ego et Secundus exsequemur eas partes quas intellexerimus te non tam omisisse quam nobis reliquisse. Aprum enim solere dissentire et tu paulo ante dixisti et ipse satis manifestus est iam dudum

17. *nos* C. *aut Asinio* ABEV$_2$H, *aut ab Asinio* CΔD.
16. 2. *movisti* Lipsius, *movistis* codd. *explicabit* ABCΔD, *explicavit* E and (corr. to -abit) V$_2$, *explicaverit* HVSp. edd. vett. 5. *cognitiones* EV$_2$. *si* BH, and (above the line) E: om. AV$_2$CΔD.

laudantium clamor, where see note. *Scholastici* is here used of a professional audience, in a wide sense.

17. **Afer aut Africanus.** For the former see on 13. 9: for the latter, 14. 20. Their eminent renown involves a high compliment to those who are bracketed along with them in *vos ipsi.* Two of the interlocutors, Aper and Secundus, have already been referred to as 'celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri,' ch. 2. 5.

Chs. 16–23. *Aper's speech in praise of the eloquence of the day as contrasted with that of former times. After an attempted definition* (16–17) *he refers to the changed conditions* (18) *and shows how a different type of oratory is required by the circumstances of the present day* (19, 20), *finishing with a criticism of republican eloquence, especially Cicero* (21–23).

16. 3. **cura et meditatio.** Messalla had already given the matter 'careful consideration': cp. quas (causas) mecum ipse plerumque conquiro, in the preceding chapter.

5. **si illud . . . impetravero.** For the construction cp. 18. 8 si illud ante praedixero: 28. 12. The passage seems to contain a reminiscence of de Or. i. § 27 'Ego vero' inquit Crassus 'neque Antonium verbum facere patiar et ipse obmutescam, nisi prius a vobis impetraro'—'Quidnam?' inquit Catulus. 'Ut hic sitis hodie.' In both passages, and frequently elsewhere in Cicero (e.g. de Or. ii. § 13), *inquit* is several times repeated in the course of a few lines to give a familiar and conversational tone.

8. **Pro duobus.** Cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 362 Nos vero, inquit Catulus, etenim pro me hoc et pro meo fratre respondeo, &c.

9. **partes,** 'portions,' not 'functions' (as 24. 11, 28. 3), *exsequi* being used here of exposition, as Ann. xii. 58, 6: cp. 3. 65, 4. 4, 11. 21.

10. **omisisse . . . reliquisse.** Cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 126 si quid ab Antonio aut praetermissum aut relictum sit ('accidentally'—'intentionally'), non explices; neque te Antoni, si quid non dixeris, existimabimus non potuisse potius quam a Crasso dici maluisse.

11. **manifestus est.** The personal construction of this adj. with the infin. corresponds to the Greek δῆλός (φανερός) ἐστι with a participle: cp. Ann. ii. 57, 13 dissentire manifestus. Draeger cites (§ 152) instances of the same use from Statius (Theb. x. 759) and the Digests. So with *suspectus*, Hist. i. 46, 5 suspectus consilia eius fovisse. Cp. iv. 34 ad fin.

in contrarium accingi nec aequo animo perferre hanc nostram pro antiquorum laude concordiam.'

'Non enim' inquit Aper 'inauditum et indefensum saeculum nostrum patiar hac vestra conspiratione damnari. Sed hoc primum interrogabo, quos vocetis antiquos, quam oratorum aetatem significatione ista determinetis. Ego enim cum audio antiquos quosdam veteres et olim natos intellego, ac mihi versantur ante oculos Ulixes ac Nestor, quorum aetas mille fere et trecentis annis saeculum nostrum antecedit; vos autem Demosthenem et Hyperidem profertis, quos satis constat Philippi et Alexandri temporibus floruisse, ita tamen ut utrique superstites essent. Ex quo apparet non multo plures quam trecentos annos interesse inter nostram et Demosthenis aetatem: quod spatium temporis si ad infirmitatem corporum nostrorum referas, fortasse longum videatur, si ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum

19. *ac* AB, *et* $EV_2C\Delta DH$. 21. *proferatis* B, *profer*[*i*]*tis* A. 22. *ut huic* (sc. Alexandro) *utrique* Vahlen. 23. *trecentos* codd., *quadringentos* Lipsius and most edd. 26. *videtur* C. *naturam* codd., *numerum* Baehrens: qy. *rationem*? *saeculorum* codd., *siderum* Usener. *respectum* codd., *respectu* Spengel.

12. **accingi**, middle. Cp. Hist. iii. 21, 6 in proelium accingi: so 35, 10 in auxilium: 66, 20 in audaciam, and frequently elsewhere.

14. **inauditum et indefensum.** The same collocation occurs Ann. ii. 77, 9: Hist. i. 6, 2: and, inversely, Hist. ii. 10, 4. Furneaux notes that *inauditus* is not found, in this sense, before Tacitus, while *indefensus* is used by Livy.

17. **audio.** See on *auditos*, 7. ad fin.

18. **antiquos . . . veteres.** As no sufficient difference can be indicated by the use of these words (which are found together as synonyms 15. 1 and again at the end of this chapter), Tacitus adds to the latter the words *et olim natos*. In Quintilian *veteres* and *antiqui* are both frequently used in contradistinction to *novi*, i. e. the writers of the post-Augustan period. Cicero is included in the former class, along with his predecessors: ix. 3, 1 omnes veteres et Cicero praecipue.

19. **mille fere et trecentis annis.** Eratosthenes and others placed the Trojan War in 1193–1184, which will give 1268 or 1269 years between the commencement of the war and the date of the Dialogue (74–75 A. D.).

23. **trecentos** should be allowed to stand, even though it is incorrect. Aper is doing his best to make out his case. It is easy to show that as Demosthenes died in 322 B. C., at least 397 years must have intervened between his 'aetas' and the date of the Dialogue. But it suits Aper's argument to make the two periods approximate as nearly as possible: hence he emphasizes the fact that Demosthenes survived Alexander, though he does not mention that it was by only one year. By starting his calculation from the date of the *death* of Demosthenes, and by using *nostra aetas* loosely, for what we know as the post-Augustan age, he is able to finish with the words *non multo plures quam* trecentos annos interesse. With *quadringentos*, which is substituted by most editors for *trecentos*, there would be little point in 'non multo plures quam.'

25. **si . . . referas**, i. e. if we take as a standard of measurement our feeble frames, and the brief span of our lives, instead of the endless ages. *Natura* = the real or actual constitution of the *saecula*. Cp. Iamblichus, Protrept. 8. 47 *τί δ' ἐστὶ μακρὸν ἢ τί πολυχρόνιον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων; ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν, οἶμαι, καὶ βίου βραχύτητα καὶ τοῦτο φαίνεται πολύ.*

26. **respectum**, with *referas*, involves

inmensi huius aevi, perquam breve et in proximo est. Nam si, ut Cicero in Hortensio scribit, is est magnus et verus annus, quo eadem positio caeli siderumque quae cum maxime est rursum existet, isque annus horum quos nos vocamus annorum duodecim milia nongentos quinquaginta quattuor complectitur, incipit Demosthenes vester, quem vos veterem et antiquum fingitis, non solum eodem anno quo nos, sed etiam eodem mense extitisse.

17. Sed transeo ad Latinos oratores, in quibus non Menenium, ut puto, Agrippam, qui potest videri antiquus, nostrorum temporum disertis anteponere soletis, sed Ciceronem et Caesarem

31. *nongentos* Nic. Loënsis: *VIII*[c] B, *VCC*[tos] A, *dccc*[tos] C, *dccc* DH, *octingentos* EV_2. 32. *vester* $BCEV_2\Delta$ (but B *este* in litura), *videtur* AD, *v̄r* H, [*vester*] Halm. 33. *etiam* Michaelis (cp. 7. 14; 20. 14; 21. 33; 24. 5): *fama* codd. (*fere* B corr., H Put. *ferme* Bekker). *modo* C (for *mense*).

17. 1. *Menenium* BE (in marg.), *me nimium* cett. codd. 3. *soletis* codd., *voletis* Kleiber, Wolff.

a slight pleonasm. It is as if the writer had said *si ad immensum hoc aevum respexeris*: cp. 24. ad fin., effici ratio temporum collegerit: Hist. i. 32, 12 regressus facultatem in aliena potestate esse: Ann. iii. 3, 8 magnitudinem mali perferre visu non toleravit.

27. **perquam breve**: so 'perquam breviter,' Cic. de Or. ii. § 201. *Perquam* occurs Ann. xii. 49, 3; xvi. 20, 3.

in proximo est. The grammatical subject is *spatium temporis*, but the real subject is the period with which it opens, viz. the age of Demosthenes. For *in proximo*, see note on *in medio*, 18. 2.

28. **Hortensio.** This lost treatise derived its name from being dedicated to Cicero's great rival: Cic. de Fin. i. 1, 2 quo a nobis philosophia defensa et collaudata est, cum esset accusata et vituperata ab Hortensio. A similar reference is made by Servius, ad Aen. i. 269 Tria sunt genera annorum: aut enim lunaris annus est xxx dierum aut solstitialis xii mensum aut secundum Tullium magnus, qui tenet X̅I̅I̅DCCCCLIIII annos, ut in Hortensio: horum annorum quos in fastis habemus, magnus X̅I̅I̅DCCCCLIII amplectitur. The duration of the Great Year was variously estimated; in any case it would only be completed when all the heavenly bodies came back to the same places in which they were at the beginning of the world: cp. the last Chorus in Shelley's 'Hellas'—'The world's great age begins anew,' &c. See Cic. de Rep. vi. 22.

29. **cum maxime** = hoc ipso tempore, 'at this particular moment': νῦν γε μάλιστα. So 37. 7 cum maxime a Muciano contrahuntur: cp. Hist. i. 29, 14: 84, 16: iii. 4, 11: iv. 55, 18; 58, 13; 65, 6: Ann. iii. 59, 11: iv. 27, 9 ('at that very moment'). The phrase occurs also in Cicero (de Off. ii. § 23: in Verr. iv. 38, § 82: Harusp. Resp. § 32) and Livy (xl. 32, 1). A fuller form is *nunc cum maxime*: pro Cluent. § 12: Liv. xxix. 17, 7. It is noteworthy that *cum maxime* is not found in Quintilian, though he has *nunc maxime*: ix. 4, 66 quod nunc maxime vitium est, cp. xi. 3, 57.

31. **incipit** (ἄρχεται), of a necessary conclusion, (like *sequitur*) 'it begins to appear that,' &c. So often in Seneca: e. g. Dial. iii. 10, 3 deinde desinit quicquam posse ratio, si nihil potest sine adfectu, et incipit par illi similisque esse: viii. 8, 3 quodsi non invenitur illa respublica, quam nos fingimus, incipit omnibus esse otium necessarium: Ep. 95, 3, 46. Cp. Quint. Decl. 26, 5 quare si apparuerit te malam causam habere incipis rem iniquissimam postulare: ibid. 213, 8.

17. 1. **Menenius Agrippa**, consul B. C. 503, the author of the famous apologue of the Belly and the Members, Livy ii. 32.

2. **potest videri antiquus**, 'may well be considered ancient,'—vetus et olim natus, 16. 18.

3. **Caesarem**: see on 21. 19.

et Caelium et Calvum et Brutum et Asinium et Messallam: quos quid antiquis temporibus potius adscribatis quam nostris, non video. Nam ut de Cicerone ipso loquar, Hirtio nempe et Pansa consulibus, ut Tiro libertus eius scripsit, septimum idus *Decembres* occisus est, quo anno divus Augustus in locum Pansae et Hirtii se et Q. Pedium consules suffecit. Statue sex et quinqua-

4. *Coelium* B, *Calium* E, *alium* cett. codd. 5. *temporibus potius* most codd. and Halm, *potius temporibus* B, Andresen. 6. *ipso* ABEV$_2$, *ipse* DCΔH. 7. *scripsit* codd., *scribit* Andresen, Halm. *septimum* EV$_2$, *vij*$^{m\bar{u}}$A, *vii* BCΔDH, *septimo* Halm. *Decembres* add. Lipsius. 9. *sex* (vi) Lipsius, *novem* most codd., *viii* H, *septem* Steiner.

4. **M. Caelius Rufus** (82–48 B.C.), a man of loose morals and luxurious life, whom Cicero defended when accused of sedition and attempted poisoning, B.C. 56. Cp. 21. 14.

C. Licinius Calvus, a contemporary of Caelius, was the most prominent of the stricter Atticists, and is censured by Cicero in the Brutus (§§ 284–291) for the narrowness of his views. A poet himself, he was the friend of Catullus, and, like Catullus, an opponent of Caesar. Cp. 25. 18: 34. ad fin.

M. Iunius Brutus (B.C. 85–42) was more distinguished as a philosopher than as an orator (see 21. 22), though Cicero speaks of his eloquence in the language of extravagant eulogy, Brut. § 22 and elsewhere. On his philosophical works, see Cic. Acad. i. 3, 12 (with Dr. Reid's note). He wrote, among other treatises, a discourse 'de Virtute,' from which Seneca quotes, Cons. ad Helv. ix. 4 sqq.

Asinius Pollio: Valerius Messalla: see on 12. ad fin.

5. **quid** is common enough, especially in poetry, instead of *cur* in indirect questions.

6. **de Cicerone ipso**, the most illustrious of them all, so that the point proved about him will hold good for the rest.

nempe is used to affirm what no one can doubt, or what all must know: tr. 'of course,' or 'as you are aware.' So 21. 14: 35. 12.

7. For **M. Tullius Tiro**, Cicero's freedman and biographer, see Teuffel-Schwabe, Rom. Lit. § 191.

septimum idus Decembr., i.e. December 7, B.C. 43.

9. **se et Q. Pedium . . . suffecit.** This was on August 19, B.C. 43, and on the same day fifty-six years later Augustus died. Cp. Ann. i. 9: Suet. Aug. 100. Pedius was a nephew of Julius Caesar, and had served under him in the Gallic War.

sex et quinquaginta annos. There is some doubt about the number. Taking the date of Cicero's death as the starting-point (cp. *mox*, and *ab interitu Ciceronis* below), 56 (42 + 14) ought to be right: hence the emendation of Lipsius. Cp. Suet. Aug. 8 primum cum Antonio M.-que Lepido deinde tantum cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quattuor et quadraginta solus rem p. tenuit. But then the sum does not work out properly, and we must either suppose that *centum et viginti anni*, below (cp. 24. 13), is a round number (which may seem strange when everything else is given in such detail) or else make an additional correction there. The *Harleian MS.* gives viii for *sex*, which would exactly square the sum, but by no method of reckoning can Augustus be said to have reigned fifty-eight years. We might make it fifty-seven, by counting from January 43 B.C., when he received the imperium and the rank of propraetor (Cic. Phil. v. 16, 45); and indeed it was usual to reckon anniversaries from the first 'dies imperii,' which in the case of Octavian was January 17, when he actually received the fasces, though Cicero's proposal was made on January 1. Accordingly it has been proposed to read *septem*: but this seems to be vetoed by *mox* ('thereafter'), which shows clearly that the starting-point of the calculation is the central statement of the previous sentence, the date of Cicero's death, or, as practically equivalent, Octavian's election (*se . . . suffecit*). Possibly before beginning the sum with the fifty-six years credited to Augustus, the writer added one for the preceding year (cp. *mox*): this would give a total of 119,

ginta annos, quibus mox divus Augustus rem publicam rexit; adice Tiberii tres et viginti, et prope quadriennium Gai, ac bis quaternos denos Claudii et Neronis annos, atque illum Galbae et Othonis et Vitelli longum et unum annum, ac sextam iam felicis huius principatus stationem quo Vespasianus rem publicam fovet: centum et viginti anni ab interitu Ciceronis in

12. *illum* EV$_2$ edd., *istum* AB, *ipsum* DCΔ (*unum* Hb). 13. *sextam* codd., *septimam* Urlichs, *sexennem* Meiser, *sex* (viiii Sauppe, vii Michaelis) *tam* Spengel: *sextum* (sc. annum) *iam felicis huius* [principatus] *stationis qua*, Baehrens, John. 14. *quo* Weissenborn, *qua* codd. Andresen. 15. *viginti* CDH^1: *decem* ABEΔ and corr. H. Qy. *centum et sedecim*? See Introd. p. xiv.

and it is then tempting to suppose that for *viginti* (xx) we ought to read *undeviginti* (xix). See, however, Introd. pp. xii sqq.

11. **tres et viginti.** Tiberius reigned from Aug. 19, A.D. 14, till his death on March 16, A.D. 37.

prope quadriennium, i. e. from March 16, 37 to Jan. 24, 41.

12. **Claudii et Neronis.** The former reigned from Jan. 25, 41 to October 13, 54; the latter from the date last-named to June 8 or 9, 68.

13. **longum et unum annum:** (cp. *solus et unus,* 34. 30) a memorable characterization of the eventful year in which the legions assumed the constitutional functions of the senate and people of Rome, 'evulgato imperii arcano, posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri' (Hist. i. 4, 9). Cp. the introduction to the Histories: esp. ch. ii. 'Opus aggredior opimum casibus': ch. xi. ad fin., 'annum sibi ultimum rei publicae prope supremum.' If we count from Nero's death to the downfall of Vitellius (Dec. 20, 69) the period extends really over eighteen months: but it was as early as in the beginning of July 69 that the standard of Vespasian was raised in Egypt and Palestine.

sextam . . . stationem. In late Latin *statio* came to be used for an office or position under the government, and especially the principate itself: Suet. Claud. 38, Velleius, ii. 124, Plin. Panegyr. 7 and 86: Antoninus Pius ad Front. vi. (ed. Naber), p. 168, hunc diem quo me suscipere hanc stationem (principatus) placuit: so 'statio imperatoria,' Lampridius, Life of Commodus. Cp. Ov. Trist. ii. 219, 'scilicet imperii, princeps, statione relicta.' Even by Cicero it was employed to indicate, on the analogy of its military associations, a post from which a watch must be maintained,—de Sen. § 73 de praesidio et statione vitae decedere: cp. Lucan i. 44 (of Nero) cum statione peracta Astra petes serus ('when thy watch is over'): Vell. Pat. ii. 131 protegite hunc statum, hanc pacem, hunc principem, eique functo longissima statione mortali destinate successores quam serenissimos. But there is a distinct peculiarity here about the use of *stationem* with *sextam.* Perhaps there is a reference to the fact that the *tribunitia potestas* had to be renewed to the emperor every year, and that on the first day of every new year the magistrates and senators took the oath of allegiance (in acta iurabant). This would give the idea of the princeps being confirmed in his 'post' from year to year, and taking over with it, each year, the obligation of watching over the safety of the realm. Each year thus formed a *statio* in the emperor's reign. Vespasian began to rule on Jan. 1, 70, so that he is now in the 'sixth stage' of his principate.—Some propose to take *sextam* as 'sixthly,' according to the order of enumeration—(1) Augustus; (2) Tiberius; (3) Caligula; (4) Claudius and Nero; (5) Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; (6) Vespasian. This would require a different explanation of *statio,* and it is, moreover, inadmissible, not only grammatically, but also as not giving the definite data required for 'in hunc diem colliguntur.'—With *adice,* above, there is a slight zeugma: *sex stationes* would have been more regular, or else we may supply *respice, considera,* out of *adice.*

15. **centum et viginti:** 'only 120.' As a matter of fact, apart from the above enumeration, 116 years (42 + 74) is the interval which separates the death of Cicero from the sixth year of Vespasian's reign. See Introd. p. xiv.

hunc diem colliguntur, unius hominis aetas. Nam ipse ego in Britannia vidi senem qui se fateretur ei pugnae interfuisse qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britanni arcere litoribus et pellere adgressi sunt. Ita si eum qui armatus C. Caesari restitit vel captivitas vel voluntas vel fatum aliquod in urbem pertraxisset, aeque idem et Caesarem ipsum et Ciceronem audire potuit et nostris quoque actionibus interesse. Proximo quidem congiario ipsi vidistis plerosque senes qui se a divo quoque Augusto semel atque iterum accepisse congiarium narrabant. Ex quo colligi potest et Corvinum ab illis et Asinium audiri potuisse (nam Corvinus in medium usque Augusti principatum, Asinius paene ad

17. *fateretur* ABDH, *fatebatur* $EV_2C\Delta$. *ei* EV_2, Muretus: *et* $ABC\Delta DH$. 18. *Britanni* Ernesti, Halm: *Britaniae* codd., *Britannis* Bipont., Müller. 21. *aeque idem* Nissen: *et quidem* codd.: del. Novak. 26. *Corvinus . . . Asinius* codd., Halm, Müller: *Asinius . . . Corvinus* Borghesi, and, on that reading, (for *medium* codd.) *extremum* Nipperdey, Novak.

16. **colliguntur.** So, of the result of a calculation, Germ. xxxvii. 9 ducenti ferme et decem anni colliguntur. A somewhat similar use occurs ch. 24. below, ad fin. Tr. 'The result arrived at is,' &c.

17. **fateretur.** The subjunctive is motived not so much by the form of reported speech (cp. qui se . . . narrabant, below) as by the idea contained in the relative, 'so old that': cp. canerent, defenderent 12. 13. For *fateri* in the sense of *declarare* (with acc. and inf.) cp. Ann. i. 13, 20 fateretur suscipi a se imperium: ii. 13. 6: so Quintilian (who also uses *profiteri*) i. 6, 23; 10. 37: vii. 1, 56.

21. **potuit.** This use of the perfect indicative in such clauses indicates the possibility (or duty, obligation, &c.) more unconditionally than the plupf. subj. would do: e. g. Liv. xxii. 12 deleri totus exercitus potuit si fugientes persecuti victores essent. Roby, § 1566.

22. **actionibus,** 'pleadings,' as at 32. 13.

congiario. The last largess to the people was given in the name of Titus, A.D. 73. These 'congiaria' were originally gifts of oil, wine, &c. (Liv. xxv. 2, 8: Plin. N. H. xiv. 14, 17): for other instances of money donations, cp. Ann. iii. 29, 11: xii. 41, 7: xiii. 31, 7. See also the Monumentum Ancyranum, iii. 7–21: Marquardt, Staatsver. ii. 104. The *donativum* was different, being specially used of a largess to the soldiers.

23. **plerosque,** 'a number of,' 'many.' See on 2. 10.

quoque. For the order, cp. Ann. xiv. 20, 4 Gnaeum quoque Pompeium: 'divo' is treated as a proper name. *Quoque* is often used for *etiam*, 39. 22: cp. ipsorum quoque oratorum 19. 17, below: Quint. x. 2, 14 in magnis quoque auctoribus: ii. 11, 1 exemplo magni quoque nominis professorum. Cp. 6. 19.

24. **colligi:** cp. 38. 19 per quae colligitur: 27. 2.

25. **nam, &c.** This parenthesis has greatly exercised the critics, who have proposed various methods of correcting Aper's mistake. It is undoubted that Corvinus died in A. D. 8, and that Pollio died in A. D. 5: both of them might therefore have been said to have lived 'almost to the close of' the reign of Augustus. In order to justify the language of the text, Corvinus would need to have died about B.C. 14! Little is gained by transposing the names (Borghesi) in order to bring out the fact that it was Pollio who died first: 'in medium usque A. principatum' is really as incorrect for him as it is for Corvinus, though *et . . . et* in the previous clause seems to show that the speaker at first meant to place Pollio first in point of time (cp. 17. 3). We must regard the statements in the text as another illustration of Aper's liability to error.

Gudeman proposes to reject the parenthesis altogether as an interpolation, based probably on 38. 19 ab ipso tamen Pol-

extremum duravit): ne dividatis saeculum, et antiquos ac veteres vocitetis oratores quos eorundem hominum aures adgnoscere ac velut coniungere et copulare potuerunt.

18. Haec ideo praedixi ut, si qua ex horum oratorum fama gloriaque laus temporibus adquiritur, eam docerem in medio sitam et propiorem nobis quam Servio Galbae aut C. Carboni

27. *veteres* codd.: *recentes* Eckstein, Baehrens, Müller, Novak. 28. *vocitetis* CΔD, *vocetis* ABEV_2H. See Introd. p. lxxxvii.

18. 2. *eam* Halm: *eandem* codd. 3. Most edd. (following Schulting and Ritter) give *aut C. Laelio aut C. Carboni,* on the ground of a comparison of 25. 31; but the addition of *aut C. Laelio* seems unnecessary.

lione mediis divi Augusti temporibus habitae (sc. orationes). But on the whole it seems improbable that any one who took the trouble to insert such an interpolation would have failed to make it correct.

in medium usque. Nowhere else does Tacitus use *in* . . . *usque* in a temporal sense; and Gudeman uses this as an argument for the elimination of the parenthesis: he also challenges the change from *in* to *ad.* Quintilian has 'in illum usque diem,' 'usque ad ultimum,' and many similar expressions.

27. **duravit** = vitam perduxit: cp. Ann. iii. 16, 8 narratum ab iis qui nostram ad iuventutem duraverunt, and possibly also Agr. xliv. 15 durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem. The word cannot possibly have any other meaning: cp. Quint. i. § 21 inde durat ad nos usque, and frequently.—In order to save Aper's accuracy, it has been proposed to take *duravit* as =*floruit,* and to understand it as indicating the period during which Corvinus and Asinius continued in full activity at Rome. But though Pollio may have done little in public after about 17 B.C., we know from Suetonius (Aug. 58) that it was Messalla who, in the year B.C. 2, proposed in the senate that the title *Pater Patriae* should be conferred on Augustus. This fact has been made an argument for reversing the names, still taking *duravit* as = *floruit,* so that it would be Corvinus, not Asinius, who 'paene ad extremum duravit.' So John and Wolff: but *duravit* can hardly stand the interpretation thus given.

ne dividatis, 'so that you must not make two ages out of one.' The expression really implies an ellipse, sc. haec dico ne: cp. Quint. x. 1, 45 facile est autem studiosis qui sint his simillimi iudicare, ne quisquam queratur, &c., 'so that no one need complain.' Gudeman contends that the removal of the parenthesis makes the ellipse more natural and easy.

28. **quos.** For the omission of the demonstrative, cp. 5. 15 studium quo.

29. **coniungere et copulare,** i.e. with the present day. The meaning is thus given by Orelli: 'quos una hominum aetas, qui memoria sua totum vitae spatium amplectuntur, agnoscere ac velut coniungere potuit cum eis quos ad ultimam iam senectutem provecta nostris temporibus vidit.'

18. 1. **fama gloriaque.** These synonyms are frequently found together: e. g. Sall. Iug. iv. 6 famam atque gloriam.

2. **temporibus adquiritur:** lit. 'accrues to the times,' or is reflected on them. Cp. Hist. ii. 76, 8 cui summum decus adquiratur.

in medio sitam (positam), 'common property,' i.e. common to both epochs.—The great extension of the use of such adverbial phrases (cp. in proximo 16. 27) in post-Augustan times points to the influence of Greek analogy (ἐν κοινῷ, &c.): cp. *in obscuro, in ambiguo, in promiscuo, in aequo, in communi.*

3. **Servius Sulpicius Galba,** consul B.C. 141, was one of the contemporaries of Laelius and Scipio the Younger. He was prosecuted in B.C. 149 for atrocious cruelty and treachery to the Lusitanians, but secured an acquittal, though the charge was supported by Cato the Censor (Cic. de Or. i. § 227, Brut. § 89). As an orator Cicero ranks him very high: e.g. Brut. § 89 Sed inter hos . . . sine controversia Ser. Galba eloquentia praestitit: de Or. i. § 40 divinum hominem in dicendo.

C. Papirius Carbo, consul B.C. 120. He had originally belonged to the party of Ti. Gracchus, but deserted it for the

quosque alios merito antiquos vocaverimus; sunt enim horridi et impoliti et rudes et informes et quos utinam nulla parte imitatus esset Calvus vester aut Caelius aut ipse Cicero. Agere enim fortius iam et audentius volo, si illud ante praedixero, mutari cum temporibus formas quoque et genera dicendi. Sic Catoni seni comparatus C. Gracchus plenior et uberior, sic

5. *in ulla* C.

cause of the Optimates. In the year after his consulship he was driven to commit suicide, having been prosecuted on some charge not distinctly specified, in connexion with which Crassus made his first public appearance (see 34. ad fin.). In the Brutus, §§ 103–5, Cicero praises his eloquence and industry: industrium etiam et diligentem et in exercitationibus commentationibusque multum operae solitum esse ponere: cp. ibid. et Carbonis et Gracchi habemus orationes nondum satis splendidas verbis, sed acutas prudentiaeque plenissimas: § 159 C. Carbonem eloquentissimum hominem.

4. **horridi.** *Horridus* is the opposite of *nitidus*, which is specially used of what is made to look bright by the trouble taken over it: cp. Cic. Orat. § 36; de Or. iii. § 51; Brut. § 238 non valde nitens, non plane horrida oratio. Cp. also horride inculteque, Orat. § 28.

5. **impoliti et rudes.** So Cic. Or. § 20 impoliti et consulto rudium similes et imperitorum. And of Cato's speeches, Brut. § 294 significant enim quandam formam ingenii, sed admodum impolitam et plane rudem. Cp. Quint. x. 1, 66 (of Aeschylus) rudis in plerisque et incompositus.

nulla parte, 'in nothing': cp. Quint. i. 10, 4 perfecti illius ex nulla parte cessantis. Cp. 21. 19 ex ea parte qua. *In hac parte* is also common in Quintilian: see on x. 1, 64, and cp. Cic. Sex. Rosc. § 135: nulla ex parte, Cluent. §§ 96, 98.

6. **imitatus esset.** Gudeman proposes to alter this to *miratus esset*, asking 'who ever heard that Caelius or Calvus or Cicero imitated *ulla parte* the uncouth, rugged, and unpolished style of any of their early predecessors?' But see Quintilian x. 1, 40 Paucos enim vel potius vix ullum ex his qui vetustatem pertulerunt existimo posse reperiri, quin iudicium adhibentibus adlaturus sit utilitatis aliquid, cum se Cicero ab illis quoque vetustissimis auctoribus, ingeniosis quidem, sed arte carentibus, plurimum fateatur adnitum: Cic. Or. § 169 quae quidem (sc. antiquitas) apud me ipsum valet plurimum: and specially the eulogy of Cato in the Brutus, §§ 65–69. So too Seneca apud Gell. xii. 2 (Fragmenta iii) Apud ipsum quoque Ciceronem invenies etiam in prosa oratione quaedam ex quibus intelligas illum non perdidisse operam quod Ennium legit. There is therefore nothing 'preposterous' about the statement that Cicero himself was found among the imitators of these early orators: cp. 22. 10 nam priores orationes eius non carent vitiis antiquitatis.

7. **fortius iam et audentius.** Aper is warming to the work of proving the case for contemporary eloquence: cp. manifestus est iam dudum in contrarium accingi, &c., ch. 16. 11. He begins with the general statement that oratory changes with the times. But so far from implying decadence and deterioration, such change really involves progress and continuous development.

si illud . . . praedixero, as at 28. 11, where there is also a similar pleonasm (prius praedixero). See on 16. 6.

9. **Catoni seni,** the Censor (234–149 B.C.). Cicero says of him in the Brutus (§ 61) nec vero habeo quemquam antiquiorem, cuius quidem scripta proferenda putem: cp. for the character of his eloquence, ib. § 69.

plenior et uberior. This characterization of Gracchus is taken from the Brutus, § 125: noli enim putare quemquam, Brute, pleniorem aut uberiorem ad dicendum fuisse. There is the same collocation (plenius et uberius) Ann. xii. 60. 4. *Uber* (ἁδρός) is the opposite of *exilis*, de Or. i. § 84, and *ieiunus*, de Opt. Gen. Or. iii. § 4. For the eloquence of Gaius Gracchus, see the Brutus, l. c., especially Eloquentia quidem nescio an habuisset parem neminem (diutius si vixisset): de Or. iii. § 214: Holden on Plut. Tib. Gracch. ch. ii.

Graccho politior et ornatior Crassus, sic utroque distinctior et urbanior et altior Cicero, Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis magis elaboratus. Nec quaero quis disertissimus: hoc interim probasse contentus sum, non esse unum eloquentiae

11. *nitidior* Michaelis.

10. **politior et ornatior**, 'more finished and more ornate.' *Politus* is the opposite of *rudis*, Quint. ii. 12, 3: cp. politus scriptor atque artifex, Cic. Or. § 172. There is a similar collocation in Cic. de Or. i. § 31 ornata oratio et polita. The best definition of *ornatus* is to be found in Cic. de Or. iii. § 53 qui distincte, qui explicate, qui abundanter, qui inluminate et rebus et verbis dicunt et in ipsa oratione quasi quendam numerum versumque conficiunt, id est quod dico *ornate*: where Wilkins says that the word includes 'clearness, artistic development of the theme, copiousness, brilliant thoughts and phrases, and a rhythmical and periodic style.' Cp. Quint. viii. 3, 61.

Crassus, L. Licinius (B.C. 140-91) was the most illustrious of Roman orators before Cicero, who in the De Oratore makes him the mouthpiece of his own views and opinions. For his eloquence see de Orat. i. § 155; ii. § 4; iii. § 70; Brut. § 143 sq.: erat (Crasso) ... latine loquendi accurata et sine molestia diligens elegantia.

distinctior, 'more luminous,' here of the speaker, more usually of his speech: Quint. v. 14, 33 sermone puro et dilucido et distincto, and immediately below distincta ac perspicua esse debere argumenta. In Brut. § 69 *distinctus* rather = 'ornatus' than, as here, 'dilucidus': cp. de Or. i. § 50 compositam orationem et ornatam et artificio quodam et expolitione distinctam. In Cicero the adverb *distincte* is, however, common enough in the sense of 'clearly,' e.g. de Or. iii. § 53, quoted above, where Wilkins says that it 'seems to differ from *plane* by denoting the clearness which comes from a skilful arrangement, as distinguished from the intelligibility of simple language.' In Vulg. 4 Esdr. 12, 8, *distinctio* = 'clear meaning': ostende servo tuo mihi interpretationem et distinctionem visus horribilis huius.

11. **urbanior**, 'more refined.'

mitior. *Lenis* is more frequently used in this sense. The reference is to what Quintilian calls (x. 1, 44) the 'lene et nitidum et compositum genus' dicendi, and Cicero 'placida, summissa, lenis' oratio, de Or. ii. § 183—that which has more *suavitas* than *nervi* (Cic. Or. § 91): and in this connexion *lenis* is frequently opposed (as probably *mitis* here) to such words as *vehemens*, *acer*, *intentus*, *asper*. So Quint. xi. 1, 31 mite (as opp. to audax) eloquentiae genus: vi. 2, 19 dicendi genus placidum ac mite: Cic. de Off. i. 3, of Demetrius Phalereus, 'orator parum vehemens, dulcis tamen.' *Mitis* in the sense of 'mellow' is probably different, though the commentators quote Cic. Brut. § 288 ipse enim Thucydides si posterius fuisset multo maturior fuisset et mitior.

dulcior, 'more pleasing.' So of the charm of Herodotus, Cicero in the Hortensius, 'quid enim aut Herodoto dulcius aut Thucydide gravius?': cp. Quint. x. 1, 73, and note. Andresen quotes Cic. Or. § 32, of Xenophon's style, 'melle dulcior sed a forensi strepitu remotissimus.'

12. **magis elaboratus.** So Seneca, Controv. ii. 12, 8 Latini utique sermonis observator diligentissimus. Quintilian's judgment of Corvinus may be cited: At Messalla nitidus et candidus et quodam modo praeferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor (x. 1, 113). In the Brutus (§ 246) Cicero says of him, M. Messalla minor natu quam nos, nullo modo inops, sed non nimis ornatus genere verborum: he also praises his industry, cp. Epist. ad Brut. i. 15, 1. **Elaboratus**, more usually of an author's style than of the author himself: e.g. Quint. ix. 4, 1.

13. **interim**, for the present, i.e. till I come to the main part of my discourse; a comparative estimate of the ancients and the moderns.

probasse. The frequent use of the infinitive after such adjectives as *contentus* (and also after verbs) is a characteristic of the Silver Age. Other examples of this construction with *contentus* will be found in 23. 6 and 26. 27. It seems to have been adopted from the usage of poetry (e.g. Ovid, Metam. i. 461), and is very common in Quintilian.—For the perf. infin. of a completed action, cp. Agr. iii. 18: xliv. 17.

vultum, sed in illis quoque quos vocatis antiquos plures species deprehendi, nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est, vitio autem malignitatis humanae vetera semper in laude, praesentia in fastidio esse. Num dubitamus inventos qui prae Catone Appium Caecum magis mirarentur? Satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obtrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus, sed supra modum exsultans et superfluens et parum

14. *in* B (above the line): om. cett. codd. 17. *prae* Groslotius, *pro* codd. [*magis*] Schurzfleisch. 20. *supra* codd., *super* Halm, Müller.

15. **statim**, of logical consequence, as frequently *continuo* in Cicero: 'it does not at once follow that,' &c. Cp. Quint. x. 1, 24 neque id statim legenti persuasum sit, i.e. do not let the reader 'run away with the notion that,' &c. The use of *protinus* in Quintilian furnishes an exact analogy: x. 1, 3 non autem ut quidquid praecipue necessarium est sic . . . maximi protinus erit momenti: cp. § 42; 3 § 22.

16. **vetera semper in laude.** So Velleius ii. 92, 4 Praesentia invidia, praeterita veneratione prosequimur, et his nos obrui illis instrui credimus. For similar protests against a slavish and undiscriminating admiration of antiquity, cp. Ann. iii. 55, 20 nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque aetas multa laudis et artium imitanda posteris tulit: ii. 88 ad fin. (of Arminius) Romanis haud perinde celebris, dum vetera extollimus recentium incuriosi. In his note on the latter passage, Mr. Furneaux gives a quotation from the conclusion of Hobbes' 'Leviathan,' which is even more apposite here, where literature is under discussion: 'The praise of ancient authors proceeds not from the reverence of the dead, but from the competition and mutual envy of the living.'

17. **num dubitamus inventos**, i.e. in the time of Cato, as is clear from the sequence of ideas. The construction of *dubito* with acc. and infin. (for the negative expression of doubt) belongs to the usage of the Silver Age, and is especially common in Tacitus and Quintilian. It occurs indeed in Livy and Nepos, but never in Caesar or Sallust, and in Cicero only in doubtful instances (see note on Quintilian, x. 1, 73).

prae Catone. *Prae* makes *magis* distinctly pleonastic: cp. however Livy ix. 7, 6, where *magis* is generally taken with the comparative *tristior*. *Pro* has been defended as if the writer had at first intended to use some such word as *legerent* (23. 7), or *mirarentur*: but the sentence is too short for such an anacoluth. Cp. Verg. Aen. i. 347 ante alios immanior omnes, &c.

18. **Appius Claudius Caecus**, censor 312. His speech against making peace with Pyrrhus is referred to in Cic. Brut. § 61; de Senect. § 16.

19. **obtrectatores.** Besides Calvus and Brutus, mentioned below, there were the Asinii, father and son, and also Caelius. These were all Atticists of the severer type, who considered the fulness and richness of Cicero's style turgidity and bombast, and pointed to the excessive attention which they alleged that he paid to rhythm as proving that he was really an Asianist in disguise. Cp. note on Quint. x. 1, 105.

inflatus et tumens. An exactly parallel passage is Quint. xii. 10, 12 quem tamen et suorum homines temporum incessere audebant ut tumidiorem et Asianum et redundantem et in repetitionibus nimium et in salibus aliquando frigidum et in compositione fractum, exsultantem ac paene, quod procul absit, viro molliorem. So Cicero of himself, Brut. § 316 nimis redundantes nos et superfluentes iuvenili quadam dicendi impunitate et licentia.

20. **pressus**, 'concise' (premo) or 'terse.' The figure is taken from the process of pruning: premere tumentia, Quint. x. 4, 1. So in Cic. de Or. ii. § 96 'oratio pressior' is opposed to 'luxuries quaedam quae stilo depascenda est.' Cp. Quint. xii. 10, 16 (Attici) pressi et integri . . . (Asiani) inflati et inanes: Cic. Brut. § 51 parum pressi et nimis redundantes: ib. § 202 cavenda presso illi oratori inopia et ieiunitas.

exsultans, lit. 'bounding.' The word

Atticus videretur. Legistis utique et Calvi et Bruti ad Ciceronem missas epistulas, ex quibus facile est deprehendere Calvum quidem Ciceroni visum exsanguem et attritum, Brutum autem otiosum atque diiunctum; rursusque Ciceronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam solutum et enervem, a Bruto autem, ut

21. *Atticus* Ursinus: *antiquus* codd. *videtur* CΔD. 23. *et attritum* codd., *ac tritum* H Sp. Put., *et aridum* Schulting, Halm and edd.: qy. *atque attritum*? 24. *diiunctum* (*disiunctum*) codd.: *discinctum* Rutgersius. 25. *autem* most codd.: *quidem autem* A and at first B.

is opposed to *compositus* (see on Quint. x. 2, 16), and indicates a style in which excessive care is bestowed on the matter of arrangement, resulting in a sort of 'hop, skip, and jump' movement: cp. saltare in Quint. ix. 4, 142. So Cic. de Or. iii. § 36 (Theopompum) exultantem verborum audacia reprimebat (Isocrates): Or. § 26. The figure is generally understood to be taken from the bounding movement of a fiery horse.

parum Atticus. So 'Asianum' in the passage quoted from Quintilian, above: cp. Cic. Brut. § 284. The rigid Atticists who attacked Cicero made the 'plainness' of Lysias their model; but they seem to have ignored, as Mr. Sandys has pointed out (Introd. to Orator, p. lxii), the 'difference between the two languages, between the power and breadth and compass of Greek as compared with the more limited resources of Latin.'

21. **utique**, 'of course.' Cp. 30. 10 Notus est vobis utique Ciceronis liber, &c.

22. **epistulas.** These letters are no longer extant.

23. **exsanguem.** So Quint. x. 1. 115 inveni qui Ciceroni crederent eum nimia contra se calumnia verum sanguinem perdidisse: where the reference is to a passage in the Brutus (§ 283) in which Cicero says that Calvus was 'too minute and nice in his self-criticism, losing the very life-blood of style for fear of tainting its purity.' Cp. Cic. ad Fam. xv. 21 § 4 multae erant et reconditae litterae, *vis non erat.*

et attritum, 'attenuated.' This reading, which is nearest that of the MSS., seems to be quite appropriate alongside of *exsanguis*: the word expresses the 'overdone' style characteristic of Calvus. For the figure involved cp. Plin. Ep. v. 10 § 3 perfectum opus absolutumque est, nec iam splendescit lima sed atteritur: Quint. x. 4, 4 ut opus poliat lima, non exterat: Plin. Ep. ix. 35, 2 nimia cura deterit magis quam emendat. So in the passage of the Brutus, quoted above, Cicero goes on to speak of the style of Calvus as too 'fine-drawn,' oratio nimia religione attenuata.—On the other hand, the generally accepted conjecture *et aridum* is supported by e. g. Quint. xii. 10. 14 aridi et exsucci et exsangues (cp. ad Herenn. iv. 11, 16), and by the frequent instances of the combination of *aridus* with such words as *ieiunus*, *exile*, *siccus*, *tenuis*, &c.

Brutum. See on 17. 4.

24. **otiosum**, 'spiritless,' 'wanting in point,' 'tedious,' 'wearisome.' So 22. 11: cp. 21. 26 where Brutus is stigmatized as 'dull and tedious,'—*lentitudo* and *tepor* being the words used. In Quintilian *otiosus* is of frequent occurrence: x. 1, 76 (of Demosthenes) nihil otiosum, 'everything is to the point': otiosae sententiae (i. 1, 35) are copy-book headings that have no point. Sen. Ep. 100, 11 exibunt multa nec ferient et interdum otiosa praeterlabetur oratio.

diiunctum, 'disjointed,' i.e. wanting in well-rounded periods. Gerber and Greef explain the word as = in minutas sententias divisum et periodorum ambitu carentem. Cp. διεζευγμένον, Aquila Rom. 36, 37.—*Adiunctio* and *Disiunctio* (Cic. de Or. iii. § 207) are figures known in rhetoric: see ad Herenn. iv. 27 *disiunctio* est cum eorum de quibus dicimus aut utrumque aut unumquodque certo concluditur verbo, sic: 'populus Romanus Numantiam *delevit*, Carthaginem *sustulit*, Corinthum *disiecit*, Fregellas *evertit*.' Similarly *disiunctio* is defined by Quintilian (ix. 3. 45) as 'nominum idem significantium separatio': cp. συνωνυμία: see his exx. ad loc.

rursusque: so Germ. xviii. ad fin.

25. **tamquam** = ὡς with participle. Cp. on 2. 2: tamquam plane leviores, 35. 14.

solutus, the opposite of *adstrictus*,

ipsius verbis utar, tamquam fractum atque elumbem. Si me interroges, omnes mihi videntur verum dixisse; sed mox ad singulos veniam, nunc mihi cum universis negotium est.

19. Nam quatenus antiquorum admiratores hunc velut terminum antiquitatis constituere solent, qui usque ad Cassium** *Equidem Cassium*, quem reum faciunt, quem primum adfirmant flexisse ab ista vetere atque directa dicendi via, non infirmitate

27. *interroges* ABEΔH, *interrogas* CD. 28. *veniam* $EV_2C\Delta DH$, *venias* A, *veniā** B.
19. 3. *Equidem Cassium* is supplied in the text: the codd. and edd. give (with or without indication of lacuna) *qui usque* ($ACDEHV_2$, [$\overset{an}{qui}$] *usque* B) *ad Cassium* . . . . . *quem reum faciunt, quem* &c. Vahlen suggested *ad Cassium* [*Severum eloquentiam aequali et uno tenore processisse statuunt, Cassium*] *quem r. f.* For *quem reum*, Put. gives *Severum:* hence most edd. *Cassium Severum quem primum*, &c. 4. *ista* AB, *illa* $CHEV_2$. *directa dicendi* most codd., *dicendi directa* B, *dicendi via directa* H Sp. and edd. vett.

'loose,' 'flabby.' So with *mollis* Cic. Brut. § 225: with *fluens* Quint. i. 2, 8: with *delicatus* id. xi. 3, 146. Of the absence of moral restraint, Ann. xvi. 18, 6: xi. 31, 8 (solutior luxu): i. 50 ad fin. (ne pax quidem nisi languida et soluta inter temulentos): Lucan Phars. vii. 514.

enervem for the more classical *enervatam*, as in Cic. Tusc. iv. 17, 38: so Quint. ix. 4, 142 effeminatam et enervem compositionem. Cp. Quintilian (as quoted above) 'paene viro molliorem.'

26. **fractum**: not as 'in compositione fractum' Quint. xii. 10, 12 (quoted above), but in the sense of 'mollem,' 'effeminatum.' A similar expression occurs in regard to music Quint. i. 10, 31 effeminata et impudicis modis fracta: cp. Ann. xiv. 20, 20 fractos sonos = κατακεκλασμένη μέλη, of effeminate or falsetto strains.

elumbem, 'lame,' a ἅπαξ εἰρημ. Cp. Cic. Or. § 231, where we have *delumbare* for to 'weaken': Sandys refers to Persius i. 104, and cites *delumbis* as an epithet of *dictio* from Sidonius, Ep. viii. 16. For *e* privative cp. *elinguis* 36. 34, *egelidus*, &c.

19. 1. **Nam quatenus**, &c. The lacuna which the text assumes was probably caused by the recurrence in the archetype of the name *Cassium*, which may have caught the eye of the copyist. Vahlen's method of supplying what is wanting is however open to the objection that it makes a very unwieldy sentence. The missing words may very possibly have anticipated 'illud dicendi genus' below; and the *qui* in *qui usque ad Cassium* probably refers to *admiratores* rather than to *terminus*. On these presuppositions, the passage might be reconstructed somehow as follows: Nam quatenus . . . solent, qui usque ad Cassium [Severum volunt eloquentiam aequali et uno tenore processisse, libet quaerere quibus ille de causis novum dicendi genus inchoare ausus sit. Equidem Cassium] quem reum faciunt, quem primum, &c. Another suggestion is to take *hunc* as masc. and to delete *qui usque ad*. In any case, the sentence connects closely with 'agere enim fortius et audentius volo' and 'nunc mihi cum universis negotium est' in the preceding chapter: *nam* introducing a criticism on Cassius that is intended to lay down the line of divergence between the ancients and the moderns.

terminum . . . constituere. Cp. Cic. de Amic. § 56 constituendi sunt quasi termini.

2. **Cassium Severum.** He was born about 50 B.C., and acquired an evil notoriety under Augustus for his scurrilous lampoons, in punishment for which he was banished, first to Crete and afterwards to Seriphos, where he died in the twenty-fifth year of his exile (A.D. 34): Ann. iv. 21, 12: i. 72, 13. Cp. Quint. x. 1, 116 multa, si cum iudicio legatur, dabit imitatione digna Cassius Severus, &c., with the notes ad loc.

4. **flexisse.** The intransitive use of this verb (as in Vergil and Livy: cp. *deflectere*, Cic. in Verr. v. § 176) is quite Tacitean. With a similar meaning Cicero

ingenii nec inscitia litterarum transtulisse se ad illud dicendi genus contendo, sed iudicio et intellectu. Vidit namque, ut paulo ante dicebam, cum condicione temporum et diversitate aurium formam quoque ac speciem orationis esse mutandam. Facile perferebat prior ille populus, ut imperitus et rudis, impeditissimarum orationum spatia, atque id ipsum laudabat si dicendo quis diem eximeret. Iam vero longa principiorum praeparatio et narrationis

5. *illud* codd. (*id* HSp.), *aliud* Andresen and edd. Qy. *illud suum?* 9. *impeditissimarum* Muretus, *imperitissimarum* codd. 10. *laudabat* ABDH, *laudi dabatur* $EV_2C\Delta$. 11. *narrationum* Spengel.

says of Demetrius Phalereus 'hic primus inflexit orationem (Brut. § 38): cp. Quint. x. 1, 80 is primum inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur.

4. **directa.** *Recta* would have been less uncommon, and is therefore more improbable. The reference is to a *straightforward* style, direct and natural, and free from all circumlocution or meretricious ornament. So in Quintilian 'sermo rectus' (ii. 5, 11) and 'simplex rectumque loquendi genus' (ix. 3, 3) are used as indicating a style which aims at clear and effective expression, apart from all embellishment and trickery: cp. ix. 2, 78 nam rectum genus adprobari nisi maximis viribus non potest: haec deverticula et anfractus suffugia sunt infirmitatis, et sqq. For *directa via* cp. Cic. pro Cael. § 41 unum directum iter ad laudem: it finds an antithesis in 'novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus,' 21 below. Gudeman is therefore quite wrong in thinking that *directa* 'admits of no rational explanation,' and in rejecting *atque directa* as an interpolation.

non infirmitate, &c., 'not from any defective ability or want of literary training.'

6. **iudicio,** of sound judgment, as again, at 34. 9.

intellectu, 'insight,' 'discernment.' Cp. Ann. xiii. 16, 11 quibus altior intellectus: and with a genitive vi. 36, 13 quis neque boni intellectus neque mali cura: cp. 31. 12 below.

namque, in the second place, as in Livy, Curtius, Pliny the Elder, and frequently in Quintilian: cp. Verg. Aen. v. 733: x. 614. So Ann. i. 5, 14 acribus namque custodiis.

paulo ante, 'mutari cum temporibus,' 18. 8.

7. **aurium,** of the popular 'ear' or 'taste': cp. Ann. xiii. 3, 8 ingenium ... temporis eius auribus accommodatum. *Et diversitate aurium* is not really coordinate with *condicione temporum*: it is rather the result of changed circumstances. Translate, 'the spirit of the age and the consequent change in popular taste.' Cp. diversissimarum aurium, 34. 16.

9. **impeditissimarum.** This use of the word is best explained by Quint. viii. 6, 42 (Meister) Nam fit longa et impedita (sc. oratio) ubi congestioribus eam iungas similem agmini totidem lixas habenti quot milites, cui et numerus est duplex nec duplum virium. As applied to speeches, it means 'overweighted,' i.e. with superfluous detail.

10. **spatia,** emphatic for what is 'spun out,' = magna spatia. Cp. Ann. ii. 5, 10 spatiis itinerum.

11. **eximeret** = consumeret. Cp. on 38. 3 nemo intra paucissimas horas perorare cogebatur. A speaker who wished to 'kill' a proposal, whether in the senate or in the popular assembly, had only to prolong his oration till sunset, when the meeting stood adjourned. Cp. Cic. ad Quint. Fr. ii. 1, 3 Clodius rogatus dicendo diem eximere coepit: Tull. § 6: Livy i. 50, 8: Plin. Ep. v. 21, 2.—For the subjunctive of cases frequently recurring (as often in Tacitus, and even Livy, after *cum, quoties, seu,* &c.), see Draeger, §§ 159, 165: Madvig, § 359: Roby, § 1716. So *videretur* and *insereret* below.

longa principiorum praeparatio = 'long preparatory introductions.' Quint. iv. 2, 55 hoc faciunt et illae praeparationes, cum reus dicitur robustus, armatus, sollicitus, contra infirmos, inermes, securos: ix. 2, 17: iv. 1, 62 nec minus evitanda est immodica eius (principii)

alte repetita series et multarum divisionum ostentatio et mille argumentorum gradus, et quiquid aliud aridissimis Hermagorae et Apollodori libris praecipitur, in honore erat; quod si quis odoratus philosophiam videretur et ex ea locum aliquem orationi suae insereret, in caelum laudibus ferebatur. Nec mirum; erant enim haec nova et incognita, et ipsorum quoque oratorum paucissimi praecepta rhetorum aut philosophorum placita cognoverant. At hercule pervulgatis iam omnibus, cum vix in cortina

15. *odoratus* BH, and EV$_2$ (corrected): *adoratus* ACΔD. *philosophiam videtur* (*videretur* B) *et* most codd., *philosophiam atque* HSp. Put. 16. *ferebantur* AE. *erant* B: *erat* cett. codd. 19. *iam* codd., *his iam* Baehrens. *in corona* Ursinus.

longitudo, ne in caput excrevisse videatur et quo praeparare debet fatiget.

narrationis alte repetita series, lit. 'the thread of the narrative carried far back': far-fetched statements of the case. *Narratio* was the second of the five parts of an oration: exordium, narratio, probatio, refutatio, peroratio.

12. **ostentatio**: the 'parade' or 'display' of numerous heads. Quint. vii. 1, 1 divisio rerum plurium in singulas, partitio singularum in partes discretio: cp. id. iv. 5 where *partitio* is the generic term used.

mille argumentorum gradus, 'the countless stages of the proof.' Cp. 20. 6 cursu argumentorum.

13. **Hermagorae.** The reference here is probably to the greatest of the rhetoricians who bore this name, mentioned by Cicero in de Invent. i. 6, 8, ibid. 9, 12, Brutus, §§ 263, 271, and frequently by Quintilian. Some time in the second century B.C., he drew up an elaborate system of rhetoric, which was afterwards very generally followed. 'It concerned itself almost exclusively with *inventio,* with the discovery of arguments as opposed to style, and it dissected with ingenious subtlety the different kinds of issues raised, more particularly in the forensic branch of oratory' (Sandys, Introd. to Orator, p. xxxvii). It is often represented as having been too subtle and scholastic to be of service for the practical training of the statesman or the advocate. Cp. with *aridissimis* here, Quint. iii. 11, 21–22.—There was a younger Hermagoras (Quint. iii. 1, 18, cp. § 16) who also wrote a treatise τέχναι ῥητορικαί in six books. Though his followers were called, after the name of his master, *Theodorei,* in opposition to the *Apollodorei,* or school of Apollodorus, it is more probable that Tacitus is referring here to the elder Hermagoras, whose influence was so great on Cicero and the former generation of orators.

14. **Apollodori.** This was Apollodorus of Pergamum, the friend and teacher of Octavianus, who took him with him (Suet. Aug. 89) in a journey he made from Rome to Apollonia in B.C. 45. See again Quint. iii. 1, 17.

15. **odoratus.** The dictt. give only one other example of this use, from Lactantius (vii. 1, 11) veritatem leviter odorari. *Odorari* = libare, 'to get a smattering of,' 'dip into.' Wolff compares Cic. ad Att. iv. 16, 11 res fluit ad interregnum, et est nonnullus odor dictaturae, 'there is something like a dictatorship in the air.'

locum, 'common-place': a topic or reflection not peculiar to the case in hand, but of a more general character: cp. 20. 16, 22. 6. 'Any subject or topic of a general character that is capable of being variously applied and constantly introduced on any appropriate occasion is a *locus communis*; any common current maxim or alternative proposition .... Again, *invidia, avaritia, testes inimici, potentes amici* (Quint. v. 12, §§ 15, 16) may furnish *loci communes*; or they may be constructed *de virtute, de officio, de aequo et bono, de dignitate, utilitate, honore, ignominia,* and on other moral topics' (Cope's Introd. to Arist. Rhet. p. 130). Cp. Cic. de Invent. ii. § 48: de Or. iii. § 106: Or. § 126.

19. **cortina.** 'Videtur ἀψίς basilicarum in quibus iudicia centumviralia habebantur significari,' Halm. The word, which is used for a 'vault,' or 'dome,' certainly indicates here some round space available for the accommodation of the public.

quisquam adsistat quin elementis studiorum, etsi non instructus, at certe imbutus sit, novis et exquisitis eloquentiae itineribus opus est, per quae orator fastidium aurium effugiat, utique apud eos iudices qui vi et potestate, non iure aut legibus cognoscunt, nec accipiunt tempora sed constituunt, nec exspectandum habent oratorem dum illi libeat de ipso negotio dicere, sed saepe ultro admonent atque alio transgredientem revocant et festinare se testantur.

20. Quis nunc feret oratorem de infirmitate valetudinis suae praefantem, qualia sunt fere principia Corvini? Quis quinque in

20. *quin* Muretus, *qui* codd. *etsi* codd., *si* Acidalius. 23. *aut* AB, *et* EV$_2$CΔDH: (see Introd. p. lvii). 24. *exspectandum* EV$_2$CΔH, *expectando* D, *expectantem* AB.

20. **etsi non . . . at certe**, as Ann. xii. 39, 15. More commonly *si non . . . at certe*, Germ. xxxiii. 8: Hist. iv. 58, 36: Quint. Pr. § 2: xii. 11, 31.

21. **imbutus**: as we speak of a 'tincture' of learning. The opposition to *institutus* ('fully equipped') reminds us of the etymological meaning of *imbuere*, 'to make to drink for the first time,' hence 'stain,' 'tinge.' See Wilkins on de Orat. ii. § 162 aliquo iam imbutus usu: Cic. Phil. v. 7, 20 cum semel gladium sanguine imbuisset: Tusc. i. 14 an tu dialecticis ne imbutus quidem es? Cp. Sen. Dial. xii. 17, 4 Utinam . . . voluisset te praeceptis sapientiae erudiri potius quam imbui: Quint. i. 2, 16 litteris saltem leviter imbutus. Cp. on 2. 14 above.

novis et exquisitis. Cp. vetere atque directa dicendi via, above. *Exquisitus* properly means 'sought out with care': so sometimes 'far-fetched.' Here it corresponds to the Fr. 'recherché' 'distingué': cp. Cic. Brut. § 283 accuratius quoddam dicendi et exquisitius genus: ib. § 321 exquisitius et minime vulgare orationis genus. Cp. too the antithesis between *sermo rectus* and *deflexa, exquisitiora*, Quint. ii. 5, 11.

22. **per quae.** Quint. x. 1, 37 in iis per quae nomen est adsecutus.

fastidium aurium. There is a similar 'mixed metaphor' in Cic. de Or. iii. § 192 aurium satietate: cp. 9. 6 above, aures respuant.

utique, 'particularly,' 'especially,' rather than 'at least.'

23. **vi et potestate**, of the absolute power of a judge sitting (possibly as the emperor's representative) in a court from which there is no appeal. Compare on the other hand 38. 7 Pompeius . . . imposuit frenos eloquentiae, ita tamen ut omnia in foro, omnia legibus, omnia apud praetores gererentur.

cognoscunt. For this use, cp. 41. 18 clementia cognoscentis: Hist. iv. 42, 7: Ann. xiii. 32, 9: and frequently in Quintilian.

24. **exspectandum habent.** See on 8. 11.

25. **ultro admonent.** Cp. 39. 10 quia saepe interrogat iudex quando incipias.

26. **festinat.** Quint. iv. 5, 10 festinat enim iudex ad id quod potentissimum est, et velut obligatum promisso patronum, si est patientior, tacitus appellat; si vel occupatus vel in aliqua potestate vel etiam sic moribus compositus, cum convicio efflagitat.

20. 2. **Corvini.** Quintilian takes a different view, iv. 1, 8: quaedam in his quoque commendatio tacita, si nos infirmos, imparatos, impares agentium contra ingeniis dixerimus, qualia sunt pleraque Messallae prooemia. Est enim naturalis favor pro laborantibus, &c.—Before *fere* (=plerumque) Gudeman unnecessarily proposes to insert *omnia*: cp. 31. 7 in iudiciis fere de aequitate . . . disserimus: 39. 6.

quinque in Verrem libros: i.e. the five parts of the *Actio Secunda*. Though they were never really delivered, Verres having anticipated sentence by flight, they were no doubt prepared for publication on the same scale as Cicero would have allowed himself in pleading before the court.

Verrem libros exspectabit? Quis de exceptione et formula perpetietur illa immensa volumina quae pro M. Tullio aut Aulo Caecina legimus? Praecurrit hoc tempore iudex dicentem, et nisi aut cursu argumentorum aut colore sententiarum aut nitore et cultu descriptionum invitatus et corruptus est, aversatur.

20. 3. *de* E, and B (above the line): om. $AV_2C\Delta DH$. 4. *aut* AV_2CDH, *et* B. 5. *dicentem* $EV_2C\Delta DH$ and corr. B, *dicentes* AB. 7. *vitiatus* Gudeman. *aversatur dicentem* codd.: [*dicentem*] Schele, Halm, and edd.

3. **exspectabit,** &c., 'sit patiently through.' The idea is that of being 'kept waiting,' and unable to get away till the speaker is done: Hor. Sat. i. 5, 9 cenantes . . . exspectans comites, Cic. de Or. 1, § 166 quos multas horas exspectavit . . . et ridens et stomachans P. Scaevola.

exceptione et formula, 'equitable pleas and forms of procedure.' Under the 'formulary system,' the praetor (*in iure*) first heard parties, and then prepared a *formula* which was sent down to the *iudex* who had to try the case (*in iudicio*). This *formula* determined the nature of the question which had to be decided, and consisted of three parts: (1) the *demonstratio*, or statement of the facts, (2) the *intentio*, or plaintiff's claim, with the question for the decision of the *iudex* in the light of all the circumstances, and (3) the *condemnatio* or *adiudicatio*, giving the *iudex* or *arbiter* power to acquit and condemn, or to adjudicate. It was to the second of these that the *Exceptio*, or equitable plea on the part of the defendant, was usually tacked on, and it was the duty of the defendant's counsel to see that all such pleas were properly entered before the praetor *in iure*, as otherwise the iudex *in iudicio* would be unable to recognise them. A counter-claim against the pursuer in an action for debt-recovery is perhaps the most obvious form of *exceptio*.

4. **pro M. Tullio.** Cicero defended him in two speeches (B.C. 72 or 71), the second of which exists in a fragmentary condition. The action seems to have concerned a piece of landed property, of which the adversary of Tullius had taken forcible possession.

Aulo Caecina. This speech, which was delivered B.C. 69 or 68, turned on questions which Aper says it would be difficult to make interesting now. Cp. Cic. Or. § 102 Tota mihi causa pro Caecina de verbis interdicti fuit: res involutas definiendo explicavimus, ius civile laudavimus, verba ambigua distinximus. See Sandys' notes ad loc., from which it will appear that Cicero had good ground for asking for the indulgence of those who listened to his pleading: pro Caec. ch. x. 'si forte videbor altius initium rei demonstrandae petiisse quam me ratio iuris . . . coegerit, quaeso ut ignoscatis,' &c.

6. **cursu argumentorum,** the 'rapid march of the proof.' Cp. Quint. ix. 4, 138 in prooemiis plerumque submissi . . . in argumentis citati atque ipso etiam motu celeres sumus: Cic. Or. § 212 cursum contentiones magis requirunt.

colore sententiarum, 'piquancy of utterance': cp. 'arguta et brevi sententia,' below. *Color* = 'tone,' 'complexion,' with reference to an artificial and rhetorical style of composition. Similarly it is used, in the concrete, of a happy thought, or sudden inspiration, 'extemporalis color,' Quint. x. 6, 5.

nitore et cultu, as 23. 21: Tr. 'gloss and polish.' Cp. Quint. x. 1, 124 Scripsit . . . non sine cultu ac nitore: xi. 1, 48 illud iam diximus quanto plus nitoris et cultus demonstrativae materiae . . . quam suasoriae iudicialesque permittant. *Nitor* and its cognates, when used of *oratio*, are constantly opposed to such words as *horridus*, *squalidus*, *sordidus*. For *cultus* Cicero used *ornatus*: the word recurs at line 17, below: 26. 6: Ann. xiii. 3, 7.

7. **descriptionum.** Cp. Cic. Top. § 83 Descriptio, quam χαρακτῆρα Graeci vocant . . . qualis sit avarus, qualis assentator, ceteraque eiusdem generis, in quibus natura et vita describitur. The word is not confined to descriptions of places.

invitatus et corruptus, 'captivated and demoralized.' So Cic. Sen. § 57 invitat atque adlectat senectus. For *invitare* in the sense of to 'win over,' cp. Hist. ii. 82 ad fin., praeceptumque ut praetorianos Vitellio infensos reciperandae militiae praemio invitarent. Literally, *invitare* is

Vulgus quoque adsistentium et adfluens et vagus auditor adsuevit iam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis; nec magis perfert in iudiciis tristem et impexam antiquitatem quam si quis in scaena Roscii aut Turpionis Ambivii exprimere gestus velit. Iam vero iuvenes et in ipsa studiorum incude positi, qui profectus sui causa oratores sectantur, non solum audire, sed etiam referre domum aliquid inlustre et dignum memoria volunt; traduntque in vicem ac saepe in colonias ac provincias suas scribunt, sive sensus aliquis arguta et brevi sententia effulsit, sive locus ex-

11. *scena* HE, *scenam* ABCD. *Q. Roscii* Bötticher. *Ambivii* Lipsius, *aut Ambivii* codd. 13. *non solum* EV$_2$CΔDH, *nec solum* AB. 15. *ac provincias* ADHV$_2$, *et prov.* BC. *suas* codd., *suis?* 16. *sensus* Muretus, *in suis* codd.

to 'put life into,' (cp. evitare), to cheer, enliven, entertain: Nonius, p. 321 'invitare est delectare.'

7. **aversatur,** he 'loses interest.' Though elsewhere in Tacitus this verb is found with an accusative, it is not neeessary here to connect it directly with *dicentem*: cp. Cic. pro Cluent. § 177 aversari advocati et iam vix ferre posse.

8. **adfluens et vagus auditor,** 'the chance listeners who flock in and out.'

9. **laetitiam:** so 'laetitiam nitoremque,' 21. 37. *Laetus* is frequently used to denote a rich or ornate style: e. g. idem laetus ac pressus, Quint. x. 1, 46, where see note. The opposite is *maestitia,* Cic. Or. § 53.

10. **impexam,** 'uncouth,' as often *incomptus, horridus* (tristi, horrida oratione, Cic. Or. § 20). Cp. Quint. x. 2, 17 qui horride atque incomposite quidlibet illud frigidum et inane extulerunt, antiquis se pares credunt: Cic. Brut. § 68 antiquior (Catonis) sermo et quaedam horridiora verba: ib. § 83 multo vetustior et horridior (Laelius) quam Scipio. The only other instance of *impexus* in Tacitus is Ann. xvi. 10, 14 impexa luctu continuo.

11. **Roscii.** Aper's reference to this great actor, the favourite of Sulla and the friend of Cicero, is an indication of the change which the national taste had undergone in things dramatic as well as oratorical. Cp. the eulogy which Cicero pronounces on Roscius de Or. 1 § 130 videtisne quam nihil ab eo nisi perfecte, nihil nisi cum summa venustate fiat, nisi ita ut deceat, et uti omnes moveat atque delectet?

L. Ambivius Turpio was a contemporary of Cato the Censor, and the most famous actor of his time. He appeared in many of the plays of Terence. The same exchange in the position of *nomen* and *cognomen,* with the *praenomen* omitted, occurs in Cic. de Sen. § 48 Turpione Ambivio.

exprimere, 'reproduce,' = reddere, imitari: so 21. 32, 26. 9, 23. 24, and often in Cicero and Quintilian, e. g. x. 1, 69: 2, 18, 26. The figure was taken from the plastic art: Hor. A. P. 32–3.

12. **iuvenes et . . . positi.** *Et* is here epexegetic (33. 8): 'the young, those who are still on the threshold of knowledge,'—who are still 'in the rough,' as it were, and have to be hammered into shape. For the figure, cp. Ovid, Trist. i. 7, 29 ablatum mediis opus est incudibus illud Defuit et scriptis ultima lima meis: Cic. de Or. ii. § 162 his . . . adsiduis uno opere eandem incudem diem noctemque tundentibus. So Apollinaris Sidonius, Ep. iv. 1 philosophica incude formatus.

profectus, not in Cicero, but often in Quintilian and Seneca.

13. **referre domum.** Quint. ii. 2, 8 Ipse (sc. praeceptor) aliquid, immo multa cotidie dicat quae secum auditores referant.

15. **in vicem,** frequent in Tacitus for *inter se.*

colonias, here generally of country-towns: cp. Ann. iii. 2, 5.

16. **sensus . . . sententia:** cp. 23. 2: 32. 17. For the difference between the two, cp. Sen. Ep. 100, § 5 sensus honestos et magnificos habes, non coactos in sententiam, sed latius dictos: Quint. viii. 5, 2 consuetudo iam tenuit ut mente concepta sensus vocaremus (23. 21) lumina autem praecipueque in clausulis posita sententias (22. 7: 32. 17). In

quisito et poetico cultu enituit. Exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor, non Accii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus, sed ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus. Horum igitur auribus et iudiciis obtemperans nostrorum oratorum aetas pulchrior et ornatior extitit. Neque ideo minus efficaces sunt orationes nostrae quia ad aures iudicantium cum voluptate perveniunt. Quid enim si infirmiora horum temporum templa credas, quia non rudi caemento et informibus tegulis extruuntur, sed marmore nitent et auro radiantur?

21. Equidem fatebor vobis simpliciter me in quibusdam anti-

17. *exigitur* Lipsius, *exigetur* CΔ, *exercitur* AV₂, corrected in both to *exercetur* BDEH. 23. *si* codd., *an* Oberlin, *nisi* Osann. 25. *radiant* Lat. Latinius.
21. 1. *fatebor* most codd., *fateor* AHSp. Cp. Equidem fatebor vobis Liv. v. 54, 3.

the use of **Sensus** (of thought) the idea of substance or form is always uppermost: for the former cp. 23. 21 (where *gravitas sensuum* is contrasted with *nitor et cultus verborum*), and probably *paucissimos sensus* 32. 17: for the latter (in addition to the present passage) 21. 17 (inconditi sensus redolent antiquitatem) 22. 12 (pauci sensus apte et cum quodam lumine terminantur): 22. 22 (nulli sensus . . . in morem annalium componantur): 23. 2 tertio quoque sensu. So too Sen. Ep. 114, § 1: Quint. ix. 3, §§ 74, 76. Sometimes **Sententia** = sensus: e.g. 21. 11 verbis ornata et sententiis: 23. 24 ea sententiarum planitas: 26. 8 lascivia verborum et levitate sententiarum. More usually it denotes, as here, a terse, pointed, pregnant utterance: 22. 7 quasdam sententias invenit: 23. 2 pro sententia: 32. 17 angustas sententias.

arguta, 'pointed,' 'striking,' 'apt,' only here in Tacitus. Cic. de Or. ii. § 250, § 268: Brut. § 325 sententiosum et argutum (genus dictionis). Cp. 'coactos in sententiam' in the passage quoted from Seneca above: Quint. x. 1, 50 breves vibrantesque sententiae.

locus. See on 22. 6 locos quoque laetiores attentavit.

18. **Accii aut Pacuvii.** This is the order in which these two poets are named in Quint. x. 1, 97, though Attius (170 B.C.—about 90) was really fifteen years younger than Pacuvius (220–132). In the next chapter, line 30, Pacuvius comes first. Quintilian (l. c.) says of them 'nitor et summa in excolendis operibus manus magis videri potest temporibus quam ipsis defuisse,' Martial (xi. 90) jeers at them for delighting in archaisms,—Attonitusque legis terrai frugiferai Attius et quidquid Pacuviusque vomunt.

veterno. For a similar figure cp. 22. 22 verbum velut rubigine infectum. Tr. 'not disfigured by the old rust of an Accius or a Pacuvius.'

19. **Lucani.** Quintilian would not have classed Lucan along with Horace and Vergil. See x. 1. 90 Lucanus ardens et concitatus et sententiis clarissimus, et ut dicam quod sentio, magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus. Similarly Serv. ad Aen. i. 382 Lucanus ideo in numero poetarum esse non meruit quia videtur historiam composuisse non poema: Petron. Satyr. 118: Mart. xiv. 194.

Horum, of the class of hearers previously indicated, especially the *iuvenes*.

23. **Quid enim . . . si credas?** This formula reminds one of the frequent use of *nisi forte* to introduce an ironical argument. In both cases the reader is challenged, as it were, to differ from the opinion just advanced, on pain of having to admit something which is improbable or absurd. Tr. 'Why, one might as well believe,' &c.

25. **radiantur**, middle = fulgent. Cp. Ovid, Ep. ex Ponto iii. 4, 103 Scuta sed et galeae gemmis radientur et auro.

21. 1. **Equidem, &c.** For the expression, cp. Cic. Brut. § 293 Equidem in quibusdam risum vix tenebam. Most edd. take *quibusdam* as neuter, but *nec unum* below shows that it is masc. For the partitive genitive after *quidam*, cp. Hist. ii. 49, 17: 98, 5: iv. 70, 24: Ann. xii. 17, 14. So 'plurimi disertorum,' 40, 3, below.

quorum vix risum, in quibusdam autem vix somnum tenere. Nec unum de populo Canuti aut Atti * * de Furnio et Toranio quique *alii omnes* in eodem valetudinario haec ossa et hanc maciem praebent: ipse mihi Calvus, cum unum et viginti, ut puto, libros reliquerit, vix in una et altera oratiuncula satis facit. Nec dissentire ceteros ab hoc meo iudicio video; quotus enim quisque Calvi in Asitium aut in Drusum legit? At hercule

3. After *Atti* Halm supposes a lacuna; read perhaps 'Nec unum de populo, Canuti (Hb Put., *Sanuti* B, *Ganuti* AC) aut Atti *ineptias referentem nomino, non disputo* de Furnio,' &c. Most edd. (after Gronovius and Nipperdey) read 'Nec unum de populo *nominabo* Canutium aut Arrium vel Furnios et Toranios.' *Toranio* BH, *Coranio* ADC. 4. *quique alii omnes* is my conj., *quique alios* AB (i. e. ali os̄), *alios* CΔD, *que alios* EV_2. *hanc maciem* codd., *haec macies* Gronovius and edd. 5. *praebent* Ritter, *probant* codd., *produnt* Acidalius, *praeferunt* Wolff. 8. *Asitium* ABCΔDH, *Asicium* E, *asiciū* V_2. *hercule* $CDEV_2$: *hercle* AB.

3. **unum de populo,** 'one of the rank and file.' Cp. Cic. Brut. § 320 non quivis unus ex populo sed existimator doctus: de Fin. ii. 20, 66 unum de multis: de Off. i. § 109.

Canuti: probably P. Canutius, whom Cicero mentions in Brutus (§ 205) 'aequalis meus, homo extra nostrum ordinem meo iudicio disertissimus.' Cp. pro Cluent. § 50 accusabat P. Canutius, homo in primis ingeniosus et in dicendo exercitatus: ibid. § 29 homo eloquentissimus. Aper took a different view.

Atti. This (or rather Ati) is the reading of most MSS. In the Puteolanus (1475) we find Ari, and most editors understand the reference to be to Q. Arrius (praetor in B. C. 73) whom Cicero mentions less favourably in the Brutus § 242–3.

Furnio. There was a friend of Cicero, called C. Furnius: ad Fam. xxiv. 25–6.

Toranio. There were two Toranii, father and son. The former was Octavius's tutor: Suet. Aug. xxvii.: Val. Max. ix. 11, 5.

4. **in eodem valetudinario,** sc. ὄντες. Cp. Sen. Ep. xxvii. 1 tamquam in eodem valetudinario iaceam, de communi tecum malo conloquor, [et] remedia communico.

haec ossa et hanc maciem praebent: 'show nothing but the familiar skin and bones.' For *haec* in the sense of 'nobis nota' cp. haec vetera 37. 6. Figures derived from the human body constantly recur in reference to rhetoric: Cic. Brut. § 64 quos valetudo modo bona sit, tenuitas ipsa delectat: § 68 utinam imitarentur, nec ossa solum sed etiam sanguinem. Cp. below, Oratio autem sicut corpus hominis, &c., and see on Quint. x. 1, §§ 33, 60, 77.—The MS. *probant* ('show what they are': 89. 7: Luc. Phars. viii. 121) induced Halm (following Gronovius) to read *quosque alios . . . haec macies.*

5. **Calvus,** a leader among the stricter Atticists. See on 17. 4.

6. **vix in una et altera,** i. e. hardly in more than one. In the same way *unus et* (*atque*) *alter* is used Ann. xiii. 46, 10 si ultra unam alteramque noctem attineretur (i. e. beyond a second): Hist. v. 6, 12 unum atque alterum lacum . . . perfluit (i. e. two lakes). Baehrens, however, lays down the law that, where a copulative particle is used, the phrase has the force of *nonnulli* or *complures,* while with a disjunctive particle it = *pauci*: he would therefore read *una aut altera,* especially on the ground of *vix* (cp. Germ. vi. 9 vix uni alterive: Plin. Ep. v. 20, 15 eloquentia vix uni aut alteri contingit). For the meaning 'one or two,' 'a few,' cp. chs. 9. 20: 29. 2: and 89. 13 (unus aut alter): exactly parallel are Hist. i. 83, 24: Ann. iii. 47, 5: iv. 17 ad fin. (unus alterve): Agr. xv. 17: xl. 19: Ann. iii. 34, 17 (unus aut alter). In Hist. ii. 75, 5 Halm now reads *unus alterve* for the traditional *unus alterque.*

8. **in Asitium.** Calvus impeached Asitius (Asicius) for the murder of an Egyptian envoy, and he was defended by Cicero: pro Cael. § 23.

in Drusum. Cicero was his advocate also: ad Att. iv. 15, 8: xvi. 5, 8: ad Quint. Fr. i. 16, 3.

in omnium studiosorum manibus versantur accusationes quae in Vatinium inscribuntur, ac praecipue secunda ex his oratio; est enim verbis ornata et sententiis auribus iudicum accommodata, ut scias ipsum quoque Calvum intellexisse quid melius esset, nec voluntatem ei quo *minus* sublimius et cultius diceret, sed ingenium ac vires defuisse. Quid? ex Caelianis orationibus nempe eae placent, sive universae *sive* partes earum, in quibus nitorem et altitudinem horum temporum adgnoscimus. Sordes autem *reliquae* verborum et hians compositio et inconditi sensus

9. *omnium* Acidalius, *hominum* codd. 10. *inscribuntur* Lipsius, *conscrib.* ABDH, *scribuntur* C: cp. 15. 12. 13. *quo minus* Halm, *quin* Put., *quo* codd. and Novak: see Introd. p. lviii. 14. *nonne* Heumann. 15. *universae sive partes earum* Pithoeus, *universa parte serum* codd. 17. *reliquae* Sorof (see below): *regule* A, *regulae* BD, *illae* $EV_2C\Delta$, *et* (followed by a sort of lacuna) HSp.: *et maculae* Meiser, *et rugae* (or *rugulae?*) Buchholz, *hercule* Ribbeck, Andresen, *reiculae* Maehly.

At hercule, a formula (used to emphasise a contrast) which seems to point to the influence which Tacitus's rhetorical studies had in moulding his style. Cp. Ann. i. 3, 21: 17, 15: 26, 8: iii. 54, 18: xii. 43, 10. In the Dialogue *hercule* (sometimes *hercle*) occurs twelve times.

9. **studiosorum**, used absolutely, as frequently in Quintilian: see on x. 1, 45. Cp. *studere*, 30 below, 32. 8: 34. 10.

in Vatinium. Vatinius was tribune in B.C. 59, when he allied himself with Caesar, and next year consul along with Bibulus. He was subsequently accused at least three times: first, by Calvus, in B.C. 58 (see 34. ad fin.); secondly, in 56; and thirdly in 54. The third was the most famous trial of the three: Vatinius was defended by Cicero.

11. **verbis ornata et sententiis ... accommodata.** *Sententiae* is here used primarily of the expression of thought; cp. Cic. de Or. i. 213 qui et verbis ad audiendum iucundis et sententiis ad probandum accommodatis uti possit: Quint. viii. 3, 43 auctoritatem in verbis sententias vel graves vel aptas opinionibus hominum ac moribus. For *auribus ... accommodata* cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 159 haec enim nostra oratio multitudinis est auribus accommodanda.— Halm seems wrong in printing a comma after sententiis: Andresen even reads *et* verbis.

13. **quo minus.** See on 3. 5.

sublimius et cultius, 'with greater elevation and more polish.'

14. **Caelianis.** Cp. 17. 4: 25. 15.

nempe. See on 17. 6. Heumann, followed by Novak, would read *nonne*: cp. Liv. xxxiv. 5, 9 nonne (codd. nempe) ... matronae. This may be right.

15. **nitorem.** Cp. 20. 6. It corresponds to *cultius* above, as *altitudinem* does to *sublimius*.

16. **altitudinem.** Cp. Cic. Brut. § 66 (of Theopompus, compared with Philistus and Thucydides) officit elatione atque altitudine orationis suae. See also 31. 27 below.

Sordes ... reliquae verborum, 'For the rest, his common-place phraseology,' &c.: cp. aliud vulgus, Ann. iii. 42, 5. For *reliquae*, the usually received reading is *illae*, which must be an emendation: the *regulae* of ABD cannot have resulted from *illae*. Various contractions for *regulae* are familiar (Chassant, p. 82 sqq.): one intended to represent *reliquae* may easily have been mistaken. The case for the insertion of *et* with a subst. (see crit. notes) must rest on the reading of H, and on the frequent use of pairs of words in this particular connection: e.g. nitor et cultus (20. 7: 23. 20), laetitia et pulchritudo (20. 9), tristis et impexus (20. 10), maesti et inculti (23. 12). For 'sordes verborum,' cp. 'verba abiecta' in Cicero. *Sordidus* is often opposed to *nitidus*: so here *sordes* to *nitor*, above. Cp. Sen. Ep. 114, 13 quidam contra, dum nihil nisi tritum et usitatum volunt, in sordes incidunt.

17. **hians compositio**, 'his faulty

redolent antiquitatem ; nec quemquam adeo antiquarium puto ut Caelium ex ea parte laudet qua antiquus est. Concedamus sane C. Caesari ut propter magnitudinem cogitationum et occupationes rerum minus in eloquentia effecerit quam divinum eius ingenium postulabat, tam hercule quam Brutum philosophiae suae relinquamus (nam in orationibus minorem esse fama sua etiam admiratores eius fatentur): nisi forte quisquam aut Caesaris pro

18. *redolent* ABEV$_2$H, *reddent*, CΔ, *redent* D. 21. *minus* om. C. 24. *nisi forte* codd., *num forte* Classen, *nec fere* Gronovius, Baehrens, *nec enim* Novak.

construction.' *Compositio* (*σύνθεσις*—the combination of words) is defined in ad Herenn. iv. 12, 18 as 'verborum constructio quae facit omnes partes orationis aequabiliter perpolitas': cp. Quint. ix. 4, 116 quem in poemate locum habet versificatio eam in oratione compositio. *Verba* and *compositio* are constantly conjoined in this way: e.g. Quint. x. 1, § 118: 2, § 13: 3, § 9; 22. 5 below. For *hians* (unconnected, 'dislocated') cp. Cic. Or. § 32 cum mutila et hiantia quaedam locuti sunt: Quint. viii. 6, 62 fit enim... dissoluta et hians oratio, si ad necessitatem ordinis sui verba redigantur, et ut quodque oritur, ita proximis, etiam si vinciri non potest, adligetur.—There is of course a narrower sense of *hiatus*, for which see Cic. de Or. iii. §§ 171–2: Or. § 20, 149–50, where Dr. Sandys explains: 'Proper pains must be bestowed on the relations between the last syllable of one word and the first syllable of the next, so as to prevent the concurrence of harshly sounding consonants as well as the juxtaposition of open words, "ut neve asper eorum concursus neve hiulcus sit" (de Or. iii. 171).'

17. **inconditi sensus.** This is the opposite of 20. 16 sive sensus aliquis arguta et brevi sententia effulsit: tr. 'shapeless periods,'—*sensus* being here used of the external form in which the thought is conveyed. Cp. Cic. Or. § 150 quamvis enim suaves gravesque sententiae, tamen si inconditis verbis efferuntur, offendunt aures: de Or. iii. § 173 princeps Isocrates instituisse fertur ut inconditam antiquorum dicendi consuetudinem ... numeris astringeret. So Agr. iii. 17 vel incondita et rudi voce.

18. **redolent** ('savour of') **antiquitatem.** So Cic. Brut. § 82 exiliores orationes sunt et redolentes magis antiquitatem.

antiquarium, 'fond of ancient authors.' This word, which is not found in any earlier writer, recurs in 37. 6 and 42. 7 : and cp. Suet. Aug. 81, and Iuv. vi. 451, where 'tenet antiquaria versus' is explained by the Scholiast as = ut antiquarius versus dicit.

19. **ex ea parte**: cp. nulla parte, 18. 5.

20. **C. Caesari.** Cp. Ann. xiii. 3, 11 dictator Caesar summis oratoribus aemulus. So Quint. x. 1, 114 C. vero Caesar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur. Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse quo bellavit appareat; exornat tamen haec omnia mira sermonis, cuius proprie studiosus fuit, elegantia. Cic. Brut. § 252 ita iudico ... illum omnium fere oratorum Latine loqui elegantissime: § 261 non video cui debeat cedere.

propter. It is noteworthy, as differentiating the usage of Tacitus from that of Quintilian, that while the latter constantly uses *propter* in a causal sense, Tacitus always prefers *ob*, except here and in Hist. i. 65, 3.

magnitudinem cogitationum. The same phrase is used in reference to Caesar's 'vast designs' by Velleius, ii. 41, 1.

occupationes rerum: his 'absorption in affairs.' For the gen. cp. Caes. Bell. Gall. iv. 16 occupationibus rei publicae prohiberetur: ib. 22: Cic. de Or. 1, § 21 in hac tanta occupatione urbis ac vitae.

21. **divinum eius ingenium.** So Velleius, l. c., 'animo super humanam et naturam et fidem evectus.'

22. **Brutum.** See on 17. 4. Cp. Quint. x. 1, 123 Egregius vero multoque quam in orationibus praestantior Brutus suffecit ponderi rerum: scias eum sentire quae dicit.

24. **nisi forte**: the other alternative would involve the supposition that, &c.

Decio Samnite aut Bruti pro Deiotaro rege ceterosque eiusdem lentitudinis ac teporis libros legit, nisi qui et carmina eorundem miratur. Fecerunt enim et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt. Asinius quoque, quamquam propioribus temporibus natus sit, videtur mihi inter Menenios et Appios studuisse. Pacuvium certe et Accium non solum tragoediis sed etiam orationibus suis expressit: adeo durus et siccus est. Oratio autem, sicut corpus hominis, ea demum pulchra est in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et

26. *teporis* Lipsius, *temporis* (per compendia) codd. 27. *bibliothecas* ADC, *bybliotecas* B (also at 37. 6). 28. *quia* EV$_2$CΔDHb: *qui* AB. *illos* most codd.: *istos* AB. 31. *in tragoediis* Ritter, Halm.

After *nisi forte quisquam* (=nemo enim), *nisi qui* follows in the next clause by a negligence for which cp. Ann. iii. 57, 2 (*nisi ut . . . nisi quod*). A similar, but more natural, construction occurs 37. 22 nec quisquam . . . potest nisi qui . . .

pro Decio Samnite. The speech is not known, and the difference in the name (Decius Samnites) shows that it cannot have been delivered, as some editors suppose, on behalf of the individual mentioned in Cic. pro Cluent. § 161 (Cn. Decidius Samnis).

25. **pro Deiotaro.** See Cic. ad Att. xiv. 1, 2: Brut. § 21. The oration was delivered by Brutus in Caesar's presence, at Nicaea, in B.C. 46. It failed of its object, for Deiotarus lost both his title and most of his tetrarchy: Bell. Alex. 68.

eiusdem lentitudinis, &c., 'correspondingly tedious and flat productions.' For *lentitudinis* cp. lentus est in principiis 22. 11: Cic. Brut. § 178. **tepor,** of style, occurs only here.

27. **bibliothecas.** The reference must be to private libraries, where the poems in question would find a place owing to the reputation of their authors: the first public library was founded by Asinius Pollio, B.C. 38.—Nothing is known of any poetical compositions by Brutus. Certain *carmina* are mentioned in connection with Caesar's name (Plin. N. H. xix. 8, 144), but we are told by Suetonius (Jul. lvi.) that Augustus forbade their circulation in a letter to his chief librarian, Pompeius Macer. Cicero's poetical efforts are better known: Quint. xi. 1, 24 In carminibus utinam pepercisset, quae non desierunt carpere maligni: 'cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae,' et 'o fortunatam natam me consule Romam!'

29. **Asinius.** See 12. ad fin. For Pollio's poetry, cp. Verg. Ecl. viii. 10 Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno: iii. 86 Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina: Hor. Sat. i. 10, 42.

30. **Menenios . . . Appios.** The reference is to Menenius Agrippa (17. 2) and to Appius Claudius Caecus (18. 18).

studuisse, absolute, as at 32. 8, and 34. 10: and frequently in Quintilian. Cp. *studiosorum,* above.

32. **expressit:** see on 20. 11. For the judgment here expressed cp. Quint. x. 1, 113 a nitore et iucunditate Ciceronis ita longe abest ut videri possit saeculo prior.

durus et siccus, 'hard and dry.' *Durus* is the sort of epithet (cp. *asper*) that might be applied to a man who has no 'sense of style.' *Siccus* = aridus, ieiunus, exilis, 'wizened': cp. Cic. Brut. § 285 ieiunitatem et siccitatem et inopiam. In Brut. § 202 *siccus* is used in a good sense ('solid,' 'wiry' = aptus, pressus) nihil nisi siccum atque sanum: cp. de Senect. § 34: Quint. ii. 4, 6.

33. **ossa,** as in line 4, above. For the figure, cp. Quint. v. 12, 6 plus habebunt decoris (sc. argumenta) si non nudos et velut carne spoliatos artus ostenderint.

34. **temperatus,** 'sound,' 'well-tempered.'

sanguis. Quint. x. 1, § 60 (of Archilochus) plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum: ib. § 115: 2, § 12 minus sanguinis ac virium: Cic. Or. § 76 non plurimi sanguinis est, 'not full-blooded.' For cognate metaphors see Nägelsbach, 136, 4, pp. 556–8.

exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat. Nolo Corvinum insequi, quia non per ipsum stetit quo minus laetitiam nitoremque nostrorum temporum exprimeret; videmus enim quam iudicio eius vis aut animi aut ingenii suffecerit.

22. Ad Ciceronem venio, cui eadem pugna cum aequalibus suis fuit quae mihi vobiscum est. Illi enim antiquos mirabantur, ipse suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat; nec ulla re magis eiusdem aetatis oratores praecurrit quam iudicio. Primus enim excoluit orationem, primus et verbis delectum adhibuit et

35. *rubore* ADC. 36. *quia non* EV_2CΔD, *quia nec* AB (*quia nuper* HSp.). 37. *videmus enim quam* John: *viderimus inquam* ABCΔDH, *viderimus in quantum* EV_2: *et videmus in quantum* (cp. 2. 13) Acidalius, Halm, Müller (for *nec . . . et* cp. 2. 10: 33. 11): *videmus enim in quantum* Baehrens, *uberrimus in quantum . . . . suffecit* Heumann. Some who read *nec* explain it as = *ne quidem* (see Introd. p. lviii).
22. 4. *eiusdem aetatis oratores* EV_2CΔDH, *oratores aetatis eiusdem* AB.

35. **exsurgit toris,** 'makes the muscles swell out:' 'careers' or 'revels' over them.

nervos, 'sinews': see Mayor on Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. § 136. Tr. 'while the sinews too show a ruddy complexion and a graceful outline.'

36. **Corvinum.** See on 12. ad fin.

non per ipsum stetit quo minus. Cp. Livy vi. 33, 2 nihil per alteros stare, quo minus incepta persequerentur: ix. 14, 1: Plin. Ep. vi. 34, 3 quod quo minus exhiberes, non per te stetit.

37. **laetitiam nitoremque.** There is a similar collocation of *laetus* and *nitidus* as epithets of style in Cic. de Or. 1 § 81: cp. Or. § 36. For *laetitia* ('floweriness,' 'luxuriance') see on 20. 9.

38. **quam.** Tr. 'how inadequately his critical faculty was supported by imaginative or creative ability.' So 'viribus minor' Quint. x. 1, 113 (quoted on 18. 12). Cp. above, Calvum intellexisse quod melius esset, nec voluntatem ei . . . sed ingenium ac vires defuisse. For *quam*, following *video*, cp. Cic. de Or. ii. § 180 vide quam sim, inquit, deus in isto genere: iii. § 51 atqui vides, inquit Antonius, quam alias res agamus.

iudicio is here 'power of discernment,' rather than 'taste' (1. 9, 22. 4).

22. 1. **pugna cum aequalibus suis.** These were the Atticists,—Calvus, Brutus, Caelius, and the two Asinii: cp. on *obtrectatores* 18. 19: Quint. xii. 10, §§ 12–14. In Tacitus's own day, a certain Largius Licinus repeated the criticisms of Asinius Gallus in a work entitled *Ciceromastix*: cp. Aul. Gell. xvii. 1, 1 nonnulli tam prodigiosi tamque vaecordes exstiterunt in quibus sunt Gallus Asinius et Largius Licinus, cuius liber etiam fertur infando titulo 'Ciceromastix,' ut scribere ausi sint M. Ciceronem parum integre atque improprie atque inconsiderate locutum.

4. **eiusdem aetatis oratores.** The origin of the variant 'oratores aetatis eiusdem' (adopted by Halm) seems to have been that (owing to a similarity in the compendia) either *aetatis* or *oratores* was omitted from the text and written in above the line. These two words must have stood next each other in the original. If *oratores* slipped out, and was afterwards inserted, we should have had either 'eiusdem aetatis oratores' or 'oratores eiusdem aetatis': if *aetatis*, then 'eiusdem aetatis oratores.' Moreover Gudeman points out that 'out of nearly 500 examples in Tacitus of an attributive use of *idem* or its inflected forms, it is placed after its noun in but *five* passages, and these only in his latest work. Cp. Ann. ii. 14, 1 nox eadem: xiv. 9, 3 nocte eadem: xiii. 17, 1 nox eadem necem: iii. 69, 21 viro quondam ordinis eiusdem: vi. 32, 12 Tiridaten sanguinis eiusdem aemulum.' Again, 'in Tacitus *eiusdem* with its substantive invariably precedes the noun upon which it depends, except Ann. iii. 69, 21 cited above.'

iudicio, 'taste.' So at 1. 9, 20. 20.

5. **excoluit orationem,** 'gave a finish to style.' Cp. the use of *cultus* = 'polish.'

verbis . . . compositioni. Cp. 21. 17.

compositioni artem, locos quoque laetiores attentavit et quasdam sententias invenit, utique in iis orationibus quas senior iam et iuxta finem vitae composuit, id est, postquam magis profecerat usuque et experimentis didicerat quod optimum dicendi genus esset. Nam priores eius orationes non carent vitiis antiquitatis: lentus est in principiis, longus in narrationibus, otiosus circa excessus; tarde commovetur, raro incalescit; pauci sensus apte et cum quodam lumine terminantur. Nihil excerpere, nihil

5. *dilectum* Halm. 7. *senior iam* EV$_2$CΔDH, *iam senior* AB. 10. *est* codd. except E. 12. *apte et* Acidalius, *opt. et* AH, *opt . . . et* B, *optet* C, *opti et* D, *apte cadunt et* Michaelis, *apte et ut oportet* Vahlen.

For *delectum*, 'a principle of selection,' cp. Cic. Brut. § 253 verborum delectum originem esse eloquentiae. There may be a military figure involved in such phrases as Cic. de Or. iii. § 150 in hoc verborum genere propriorum dilectus est habendus: Quint. x. 3, 5 dilectus enim rerum verborumque agendus est (where *dilectus* is probably right).

6. **locos . . . laetiores**, 'ornate,' 'flowery' passages. *Loci* (cp. note on 19. 15) is used with a reference to *loci communes*, passages of general interest, such as might be selected for a volume of 'Elegant Extracts.' Cp. Quint. xi. 1, 34 illa laetiora qualia a Cicerone dicuntur: ib. § 49 quam laetissimis locis sententiisque dicentem!

7. **sententias** = γνώμας, general reflections on human life and action, crystallized, as it were, in some apt and appropriate utterance. To Aper and his school those 'sententious utterances' recommended themselves in proportion as they were pointed and epigrammatic (cp. arguta et brevi sententia 20. 16).

in iis orationibus. Quintilian specially commends the pro Q. Ligario (B.C. 46) and the pro Milone (B.C. 52). The Philippics may also be included.

senior iam. Helmreich supports the reading of AB by citing *iam senior* from Ann. iii. 47, 14 and Hist. i. 49, 18: cp. Verg. Aen. vi. 304. But in the Dialogue *iam* most commonly comes after the word with which it is to be taken: so 'iuvenes iam' 33. 8; 'imbutus iam' 34. 2; 'paratos iam' 31. 26; 'sextam iam' 17. 13; 'disposui iam' 3. 11; 'adsuevit iam' 20. 8. See Introd. p. lxxxv, note.

8. **iuxta finem**, the only instance of this use (for *sub finem*) in Tacitus.

postquam with the plpf.: cp. 38. ad fin. postquam . . . pacaverat.

10. **priores**, e.g. pro A. Caecina (20. 4), pro M. Tullio, pro Roscio Amerino, &c.

11. **principiis . . . narrationibus.** See on 19. 11, longa principiorum praeparatio et narrationis alte repetita series.

otiosus circa excessus, he 'loiters' over 'idle' digressions. For *otiosus* ('wearisome') see on 18. 24 Brutum otiosum atque diiunctum. *Digressio* (παρέκβασις), sometimes *egressio* and *egressus*, is synonymous with *excessus*: cp. Quint. iii. 9, 4 egressio vero vel, quod usitatius esse coepit, excessus, &c., ib. iv. 3, §§ 8, 12.

circa, common in the Silver Age for *in*, *de*, *ad*, *erga*, &c.: see on 3. 18.

12. **raro incalescit**, he seldom 'catches fire.' Cp. for the whole passage, Seneca, Ep. 100, esp. §§ 7-8: 114, § 16.

apte, of rhythm: cp. Cic. Or. § 149 ut comprehensio (the complete period) numerose et apte cadat: § 219 si quae veteres illi . . . apte numeroseque dixerunt, ea sic non numero quaesito, sed verborum collocatione ceciderunt: so § 168 numerosae et aptae orationis: §§ 174, 177, 191: Quint. ix. 4, 32 apte cadens oratio.

13. **lumine** = insigni sententia. *Lumen* is here used of what adds brilliance and *éclat* to style,—some striking beauty of thought or diction, such as Seneca (l. c.) calls 'subiti ictus sententiarum.' Cp. Cic. Brut. § 66 nullus flos tamen neque lumen ullum, and (of the style of Plato and Democritus) quod incitatius feratur et clarissimis verborum luminibus utatur, Or. § 67: sententiarum lumina, ib. § 85. So Quint. viii. 5, 2 consuetudo iam tenuit ut mente concepta sensus vocaremus, lumina autem praecipueque in clausulis posita sententias: ib. § 29 lumina illa non flammae sed scintillis inter fumum

referre possis, et velut in rudi aedificio, firmus sane paries et duraturus, sed non satis expolitus et splendens. Ego autem oratorem, sicut locupletem ac lautum patrem familiae, non eo tantum volo tecto tegi quod imbrem ac ventum arceat, sed etiam quod visum et oculos delectet; non ea solum instrui supellectile quae necessariis usibus sufficiat, sed sit in apparatu eius et aurum et gemmae, ut sumere in manus et aspicere saepius libeat. Quaedam vero procul arceantur ut iam oblitterata et *in*solentia: nullum sit verbum velut rubigine infectum, nulli sensus tarda et inerti structura in morem annalium componantur: fugitet foedam

16. *lautum* Lipsius, *laudatum* codd. 18. *supellectile* ABEV_2H, *-i* CΔD. 19. *sed sit* codd., *sed esse* Novak. 20. *ut* EV_2CΔD (*aut* HSp.), *et* AB. *libeat* Agricola, *liceat* codd. 21. *arceantur* Lipsius, *arcentur* codd. *insolentia* is my conj. (for the omission of *in*, cp. 38. 5), *olentia* codd., Halm, Müller, *antiquitatem olentia* Andresen, *exoleta* Acidalius (Sen. Ep. 114. 10 'antiqua verba atque exoleta'), *obsoleta* Wolff, Gudeman (Cic. de Or. iii. §§ 33, 150: in Verr. i. 1, 31, 56: Quint. iv. 1, 58). 22. *velut* Rhenanus, *vel* codd. 23. *fugitet*, ABEV_2Δ, *fugiet* CD, *fugiat* HV and edd. vett.

emicantibus similia. For the more general sense of *lumina* the following passages may be added: ad Herenn. iv. 23 luminibus distinctis illustrabimus orationem: Cic. de Or. iii. § 96 sint quasi in ornatu disposita quaedam insignia et lumina; cp. ib. ii. § 36: sunt enim (lumina) similia illis quae in amplo ornatu scaenae aut fori appellantur insignia, non quia sola ornent, sed quod excellant, Or. § 134 (where see Dr. Sandys' notes). Quite technically *lumina* = *figurae*, e.g. Brut. § 275 lumina quae vocant Graeci σχήματα: de Or. iii. § 201 est quasi luminibus distinguenda et frequentanda omnis oratio sententiarum atque verborum.

13. **terminantur.** Cic. Or. § 199 plerique enim censent cadere tantum numerose oportere terminarique sententiam. Cp. too Quint. viii. 5, 13 sed nunc aliud volunt, ut omnis locus, omnis sensus *in fine sermonis* feriat aurem. This is what Seneca means when he says (Ep. 100, § 7) 'omnia apud Ciceronem desinunt, apud Pollionem cadunt.'

14. **referre**, cp. referre domum 20. 13.

15. **duraturus.** The fut. part. is graphically employed by Tacitus, e.g. Hist. ii. 49, 21 sepulchrum . . . modicum et mansurum: Ann. iv. 38, 7 hae pulcherrimae effigies et mansurae. Cp. on *mansurum* 9. 22.

16. **locupletem patrem familiae,** 'a well-to-do householder.' *Lautus* carries with it the same idea as *elegans*,—of one who knows how to furnish with taste. There is a somewhat similar figure in Cic. de Or. 1, § 161.

21. **oblitterata**: cp. 8. 3 remotis et oblitteratis exemplis.

insolentia: contrary to ordinary or approved usage: Cic. Brut. § 274 nec vero ullum aut durum aut insolens (verbum): Or. § 26 nullum verbum insolens, nullum odiosum: Quint. iv. 1, 58 ex praeceptis veteribus manet ne quod insolens verbum, ne audacius translatum, ne aut obsoleta vetustate aut poetica licentia sumptum in principio deprehendatur. Aul. Gell. i. 10 ut tamquam scopulum sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum. [This conjecture has, I find, been anticipated by Cornelissen in Mnemosyne, xiii. p. 260: he cites Gell. xi. 7 verbis uti aut nimis obsoletis, exculcatisque aut insolentibus.]

22. **tarda et inerti,** 'lame and stiff': cp. Quint. ix. 4, 137 tarda et supina (sc. compositio).

23. **in morem annalium,** 'in the style of a chronicler': cp. Cic. de Or. ii. §§ 52-3; de Legg. i. § 6 sq. Others take it less probably as referring to the differences between the historical style generally and that of oratory: see Quint. x. 31-32, with the notes.

et insulsam scurrilitatem, variet compositionem, nec omnes clausulas uno et eodem modo determinet.

23. Nolo inridere rotam Fortunae et ius verrinum et illud tertio quoque sensu in omnibus orationibus pro sententia positum esse videatur. Nam et haec invitus rettuli et plura omisi, quae tamen sola mirantur atque exprimunt ii qui se antiquos oratores vocant. Neminem nominabo, genus hominum significasse contentus; sed vobis utique versantur ante oculos isti qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio legunt,

25. *terminet* Lipsius.
23. 1. *verrinum* EV_2CΔDH, *vetrinum* AB. 3. *invitus* B corr., *invitatus* codd. 5. *vocant* Lipsius, *vocitant* Schurzfleisch, *vocabant* codd. 7. *isti* ABDE (om. CH and edd. vett.: del. b): *illi* Halm.

24. **scurrilitatem,** 'buffoonery.' Similar cautions are given in Cic. de Or. ii. § 237 sqq. ne quid insulse ... ne aut scurrilis iocus sit aut mimicus (§ 239), scurrilis oratori dicacitas magno opere fugienda est (§ 244), temporis igitur ratio et ipsius dicacitatis moderatio et temperantia et raritas dictorum distinguet oratorem a scurra (§ 247): cp. Or. § 88, and Quint. vi. 3, 29.

variet compositionem. The charge against Cicero was that he neglected to do this: Sen. Ep. 100, § 7 Lege Ciceronem: compositio eius una est, pedem servat lenta et sine infamia mollis.

25. **clausulas ... determinet,** i. e. he is to avoid a monotonously uniform 'rhythmical ending.' See on this passage de Or. iii. § 192 sq. where Cicero, speaking of 'clausulae' says 'in oratione pauci primum cernunt, postrema plerique: quae quoniam apparent et intelleguntur, varianda sunt, ne aut animorum iudiciis repudientur aut aurium satietate.' Cp. (both for 'clausulae' and for variety of rhythm generally) Or. §§ 212–220. So again of Cicero, Seneca Ep. 114, § 16 quid illa in exitu lenta (sc. compositio), qualis Ciceronis est, devexa et molliter detinens nec aliter quam solet, ad morem suum pedemque respondens? For *nec ... determinet,* see on *nec ... experiar,* 18 ad fin.

23. 1. **rotam Fortunae.** The reference is to in Pis. § 22 in quo cum illum saltatorium versaret orbem, ne tum quidem Fortunae rotam pertimescebat. Cp. Tibull. i. 5, 70 versatur celeri Fors levis orbe rotae.

ius verrinum, 'sauce for pork' or 'Verrine law.' The passage occurs in Verr. i. 1, § 121 Hinc illi homines erant qui etiam ridiculi inveniebantur ex dolore. Quorum alii, id quod saepe audistis, negabant mirandum esse ius tam nequam esse verrinum. Aper might have said that Cicero did not claim the authorship of this deplorable pun: cp. Quint. vi. 3, 4.

2. **illud tertio quoque sensu ... positum,** 'the stock ending of every other sentence.' For *sensus,* see on 20. 16.

pro sententia: instead of a pointed, epigrammatic utterance, there is only the jingle of *esse videatur.* Cp. cum lumine quodam, 22. 13. In the same way Quintilian, speaking of those who shelter themselves under the name of Cicero, says (x. 2, 17–18) 'otiosi et supini, si quid modo longius circumduxerunt, iurant ita Ciceronem locuturum fuisse. Noveram quosdam qui se pulchre expressisse genus illud caelestis huius in dicendo viri sibi viderentur, si in clausula posuissent *esse videatur.*'

4. **exprimunt,** 'reproduce': as at 20. 11: 21. ad fin. Instead of the reading in the text, *imitantur atque exprimunt* has been suggested (Cornelissen): cp. Cic. Or. § 19: de Or. ii. § 90.

5. **antiquos,** of the good old school.

6. **significasse.** For this infin. after *contentus,* see on *probasse* 18. 13.

utique, 'of course,' 'anyhow,' 'in any case.'

7. **Lucilium pro Horatio.** Cp. Quint. x. 1, § 93 Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores ut eum non eiusdem modo operis auctoribus sed omnibus poetis praeferre non dubitent.

Lucretium pro Vergilio. In Quin-

quibus eloquentia Aufidi Bassi aut Servilii Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis sordet, qui rhetorum nostrorum commentarios fastidiunt *et* oderunt, Calvi mirantur. Quos more prisco apud iudicem fabulantes non auditores sequuntur, non populus audit, vix denique litigator perpetitur: adeo maesti et inculti illam ipsam quam iactant sanitatem non firmitate, sed

8. *tui fidi* codd. 10. *fastidiunt et oderunt* Baehrens, Wolff. The omission of the copula in the MSS. (except B corr.) has led others to suspect a gloss: *fastidiunt* [*oderunt*] Heumann. Halm, Müller. 13. *non firmitate* Acidalius, *infirmitatem* DCH Sp., *infirmitatemque* AB.

tilian's survey of Roman literature, Lucretius is named, not along with Vergil, but with Aemilius Macer, x. 1, 87, and that in a way which reveals a very inadequate appreciation of his poetical genius.

8. **eloquentia**, here of prose style (though Servilius was a rhetorician as well as a historian): cp. 4. 10; 10. 13.

Aufidius Bassus wrote a history which probably ended with the reign of Claudius, where Pliny the Elder took it up: N. H. praef. 20 diximus . . . temporum nostrorum historiam, orsi a fine Aufidii Bassi. **Servilius Nonianus** is said in Ann. xiv. 19, where his death (A. D. 60) is mentioned along with that of Domitius Afer, to have rivalled Afer's abilities and surpassed his morals. Quintilian characterizes the two together x. 1, 102–103 et ipse (Servilius) a nobis auditus est clarus vi ingenii et sententiis creber, sed minus pressus quam historiae auctoritas postulat. Quam paulum aetate praecedens eum Bassus Aufidius egregie, utique in libris belli Germanici, praestitit genere ipso, probabilis in omnibus, sed in quibusdam suis ipse viribus minor.

ex comparatione, Liv. xxiv. 48, 2: xxii. 8, 2. For the brachyology, cp. Hist. i. 30, 1 neque enim relatu virtutum in comparatione Othonis est. See also ch. 1. ad fin.

9. **Sisenna**, L. Cornelius (B.C. 120–67) is mentioned in the Brutus (§ 228) as 'doctus vir et studiis optimis deditus, bene Latine loquens': of his history Cicero says, 'cum facile omnes vincat superiores, tum indicat tamen quantum absit a summo quamque genus hoc scriptionis nondum sit satis Latinis litteris inlustratum.' Cp. Sall. Iug. xcv. 2 L. Sisenna optume et diligentissume omnium qui eas (Sullae) res dixere persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. It is perhaps a further confirmation of the emendation *insolentia* proposed above that Sisenna is described (Brut. § 259) as 'emendator sermonis usitati: ne a C. Rusio quidem accusatore deterreri potuit quominus inusitatis verbis uteretur': and below, 'recte loqui putabat esse inusitate loqui.'

Varronis. Besides various other works Varro wrote *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum* in forty-one books, *de Vita Populi Romani* in four books, and *Annales* in three books. Quintilian calls him 'vir Romanorum eruditissimus,' and adds: 'plurimos hic libros et doctissimos composuit, peritissimus linguae Latinae et omnis antiquitatis et rerum Graecarum nostrarumque, plus tamen scientiae collaturus quam eloquentiae,' x. 1, 95.

sordet. Cp. Hor. Ep. i. 11, 4 Cunctane prae Campo et Tiberino flumine sordent: Verg. Ecl. ii. 44 sordent tibi munera nostra: Quint. viii. pr. § 26 quibus sordet omne quod natura dictavit.

10. **commentarios**, as at 26. 11, = libros, 'written speeches.' In the case of the 'rhetores,' these would be model orations, published for the use of pupils.

fastidiunt et oderunt. The same combination occurs Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 22, fastidit et odit: cp. Quint. xi. 1. 15 adfertque audientibus non fastidium modo, sed plerumque etiam odium.

11. **fabulantes**, contemptuously: 'while they are prosing away.' Cp. 39. 4.

non . . . sequuntur, i. e. they lose all interest in the performance, and the general public pays no heed. So Cicero, speaking of the Atticists (Brut. § 289), 'at cum isti Attici dicunt, non modo a corona, quod est ipsum miserabile, sed etiam ab advocatis relinquuntur.'

12. **maesti**, 'dismal,' the opposite of 'laeti': see on *laetitia*, 20. 9.

13. **non firmitate**, &c. 'It is not their

ieiunio consequuntur. Porro ne in corpore quidem valetudinem medici probant quae animi anxietate contingit; parum est aegrum non esse, fortem et laetum et alacrem volo. Prope abest ab infirmitate in quo sola sanitas laudatur. Vos vero, *viri* disertissimi, ut potestis, ut facitis, inlustrate saeculum nostrum pulcherrimo genere dicendi. Nam et te, Messalla, video laetissima quaeque antiquorum imitantem, et vos, Materne ac Secunde, ita gravitati sensuum nitorem et cultum verborum miscetis, ea electio inventionis, is ordo rerum, ea quotiens causa poscit ubertas, ea quotiens permittit brevitas, is compositionis decor, ea sententiarum planitas est, sic exprimitis adfectus, sic libertatem temperatis, ut etiam si nostra iudicia malignitas et invidia tardaverit, verum de vobis dicturi sint posteri nostri.'

24. Quae cum Aper dixisset, 'Adgnoscitisne' inquit Maternus 'vim et ardorem Apri nostri? Quo torrente, quo impetu saeculum nostrum defendit! Quam copiose ac varie vexavit antiquos! Quanto non solum ingenio ac spiritu, sed etiam eruditione et

15. *animi* codd., *nimia* Schulze, Halm. 18. *viri* add. Acidalius. 22. *ea quotiens* Wopkens, *et quotiens* codd. 23. *permittitur* codd. except E. 24. *planitas* most codd., *plenitas* B corr. and D, *gravitas* Schulting, *sanitas* Lipsius, *claritas* Cornelissen (cp. Quint. ii. 16, 10; viii. 3, 70).

vigour but their abstemiousness that they have to thank for the healthy condition of which they boast. Cp. Quint. ii. 4, 9 macies illis pro sanitate.

14. **Porro**, continuing the argument: see on 5. 7. For *parum est*, see Introd. p. lviii.

17. **infirmitate.** Wolff says that *infirmitas*, joined with the genitives *corporis* or *valetudinis*, means, in classical Latin, only 'indisposition.' So Cic. Phil. vii. 12: Rabir. § 21: Sulla, § 34. Cp. 20. 1 infirmitate valetudinis. In Plin. Ep. x. 6, 1 it already stands for a more serious illness, and later it quite = *morbus*. Cp. Quint. xii. 10, 15 hi sunt qui suae imbecillitati sanitatis appellationem, quae est maxime contraria, obtendunt.

21. **sensuum**, here of thought. See on 20. 16. Cp. throughout Quint. x. 1, 120.

nitorem et cultum. See on 20. 6.

22. **inventionis.** After *electio* we should have expected rather *inventorum*: tr. 'so discriminating in the choice of material.' Apart from the fact that *inventio* is a technical term, there is a distinct tendency on the part of the authors of the Silver Age to use abstract nouns with a concrete meaning.

24. **planitas**, 'perspicuity.' This word does not occur elsewhere: cp. however Cic. Top. § 97 efficiendum est . . . narrationes ut . . . planae sint: Quint. viii. 2, 22.

adfectus, sc. vestros. Others have taken *exprimitis* in the sense of 'movetis,' 'excitatis.'

25. **libertatem**, as 10. ad fin.; 'outspokenness.' Cp. παρρησία.

nostra iudicia, an appreciative verdict from us, your contemporaries.

malignitas et invidia. So 'malignitate et livore,' Agr. xli. 17.

Ch. 24. *Maternus repeats the invitation to Messalla to set forth the causes of the decline of eloquence.*

1. **Adgnoscitisne**, in the sense of 'There you have it again!' Cp. 11. 1 acrius ut solebat et intento ore.

2. **torrente**, usually with a genitive: e.g. Quint. x. 7, 23 inani verborum torrenti se dare. Cp. Cic. de Fin. ii. 1, 3 cum . . . fertur quasi torrens oratio.

4. **ingenio ac spiritu.** The zeugma

arte ab ipsis mutuatus est per quae mox ipsos incesseret! Tuum tamen, Messalla, promissum immutasse non debet. Neque enim defensorem antiquorum exigimus, nec quemquam nostrum, quamquam modo laudati sumus, iis quos insectatus est Aper comparamus. Ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit, sed more vetere et a nostris philosophis saepe celebrato sumpsit sibi contra dicendi partes. Igitur exprome nobis non laudationem antiquorum (satis enim illos fama sua laudat), sed causas cur in tantum ab eloquentia eorum recesserimus, cum praesertim centum et viginti annos ab interitu Ciceronis in hunc diem effici ratio temporum collegerit.'

24. 5. *ipsis* codd., *illis* Halm. 7. *nostrum* Acidalius, *nostrorum* codd. 8. *quos insectatus est* ABEV$_2$H, *quos modo insectatus est* CΔ. 9. *vetere* Ritter, *veteri* codd. 10. *nostris* ABH, *vestris* CDEV$_2$, *veteribus* Nipperdey. 12. *in tantum* EV$_2$CΔDH, *tantum* AB. 13. *recesserimus* EV$_2$DH and corr. C, *recessimus* AB. 14. *effici* del. Roersch, Novak. 15. *colligitur* CDΔ.

which editors point to between these words and *mutuatus est* is hardly noticeable. Aper had shown not only 'genius and inspiration,' but also 'learning and skill,' in the way in which he had plundered, as it were, the armoury of the orators of former days, and turned their own artillery to bear on the 'antiqui.' This accounts for the emphatic repetition *ipsis* ... *ipsos*: it is precisely against those to whom (while disparaging them) he is indebted for his oratorical gifts that Aper has directed his attack. Cp. Cic. de Fin. i. § 69 ut ipsi amici propter se ipsos amentur. Müller quotes Plin. N. H. 13, 58 nam et ipsa caudice ipso fert pomum: 21, 20 (semen) in ipso cortice est, sub ipso flore.

4. **eruditione.** Cp. 2. 14. Aper omni eruditione imbutus contemnebat potius litteras quam nesciebat.

6. **promissum.** See 16. 5. The word is of course in the accusative: 'Aper must not be allowed to make you turn your back on your promise.' The perfect infin. (immutasse) indicates that the action is already finished: D[r]. § 150.

9. **Ac ne ipse quidem ita sentit.** So 15. 9, where Messalla says 'neque ... te ipsum, Aper, quanquam interdum in contrarium disputes, aliter sentire credo.'

more vetere et a nostris philosophis. Here *et* = and also: tr. 'in conformity with an ancient usage, and one much in vogue with the philosophers of the present day.' *More vetere* refers, of course, to the Greeks, notably the Stoics and the New Academy. So Crassus, in the *de Oratore*, addressing Antonius: haud scio an aliter sentias et utare tua illa mirifica ad refellendum consuetudine . . . cuius . . . facultatis exercitatio . . . iam in philosophorum consuetudine versatur, maximeque eorum qui de omni re proposita in utramque partem solent copiosissime dicere, i. § 263.—For *vetere* (as against the MS. *veteri*) cp. Sirker, Taciteische Formenlehre, p. 36.

11. **exprome,** 'set before us.' Cp. Cic. Brut. § 25 laudare igitur eloquentiam et quanta vis sit eius expromere ('set forth'): Ann. xii. 9, 2; xiii. 49, 9.

13. **cum praesertim** = *quamvis*, or *idque cum tamen*, 'and that though,' 'though indeed,' 'which is all the more remarkable, considering that,' &c. See note on Quintilian x. 1, 105.

centum et viginti. Tr. 'though chronology proves that from the death of Cicero to the present day is an interval of not more than 120 years.' For the pleonasm, cp. 16. 25: *anni* . . . *ratione efficiantur* or *colligantur* (as 17. 16) would have been more regular. *Colligere* here rather = *concludere* than *computare*.—The repetition of the figure *centum et viginti* (17. 15) is an important element in the question discussed in Introd. pp. xii–xiv.

25. Tum Messalla: 'Sequar praescriptam a te, Materne, formam; neque enim diu contra dicendum est Apro, qui primum, ut opinor, nominis controversiam movit, tamquam parum proprie antiqui vocarentur quos satis constat ante centum annos fuisse. Mihi autem de vocabulo pugna non est; sive illos antiquos sive maiores sive quo alio mavult nomine appellet, dum modo in confesso sit eminentiorem illorum temporum eloquentiam fuisse. Ne illi quidem parti sermonis eius repugno *in qua nimirum* fatetur plures formas dicendi etiam isdem saeculis, nedum diversis extitisse. Sed quo modo inter Atticos oratores primae Demostheni tribuuntur, proximum [autem] locum

25. 1. *praescriptam a te* ABD, *et prescriptam* E, *perscriptam et* C, *praescriptam et* $V_2\Delta$, *a te praescriptam* HSp. edd. vett. 4. *constat* ABDH, *constaret* ECΔ, *constare* V_2. 8. *in qua nimirum* is my conj.: *si cominus* (*comminus*) codd., *si quo minus* HbVSp. (cp. *commoda* for *quomodo*, 36. 33). Among other conjj. are *qua quasi convictus* Halm, *qua quasi comminus nisus*, Müller (Cic. de Div. ii. 26), *si invitus* Heller. Others simply *qua fatetur*, or *quominus fatear*: EV_2 give *fateor* for *fatetur*. John supports the MS. reading *si cominus*: see Introd. p. lxi, note. 11. [*autem*] Ritter.

Chs. 25–26. *First part of Messalla's speech. He replies to Aper, and briefly characterizes the points in which contemporary rhetoric differs from the eloquence of former times.*

25. 1. **praescriptam . . . formam,** 'the direction you have laid down for me.' *Forma* is here the 'outline' sketched by Maternus: 'ratio disputationis,' G. and G. Andresen cites Ann. xiii. 4, 6 formam futuri principatus praescripsit.

2. **diu** = multis verbis, as 11. 3. Cp. Ann. vi. 27, 15 neque nobilitas diutius demonstranda est: iv. 69, 10: xii. 6, 4: vi. 49, 8: Hist. i. 16, 21 monere diutius neque temporis huius, &c.

3. **nominis controversiam,** as often *verbi controversia* in Cicero (e. g. de Or. i. § 107), 'a verbal dispute.' Quint. viii. 3, 7 diversum est genus cum controversia consistit in nomine.

tamquam, 'alleging that,' 'on the ground that.' Cp. 2. 2, 15; 10. 27.

4. **ante centum annos.** Messalla prefers a round number, as sufficient for his purpose.

5. **de vocabulo.** Nihil enim refert quomodo appelletur . . . nec mutatur vocabulis vis rerum, Quint. ix. 1, 7.

6. **appellet,** concessive subjunctive, not depending on *sive*.

7. **in confesso sit:** 27. 3. Novak cites this phrase from Quint. Decl. (ed. Ritter) 134, 1; 216, 26; 224, 4; 313, 20. Cp. *in medio*, 18. 3 (Roby, §§ 1975–6). Perhaps the nearest Tacitean analogy to *in confesso* is Hist. i. 78, 13 ipse *in suspenso* tenuit: cp. Agric. i. 6 agere digna memoratu pronum magisque *in aperto* erat, *in occulto* (Ann. i. 49, 5 and often), and most frequently of all *in incerto*. D[r]. § 80.

8. **illi parti sermonis.** See esp. 18. 14 in illis quoque quos vocatis antiquos plures species deprehendi, nec statim deterius esse quod diversum est: cp. 21. 14 sqq.

in qua nimirum fatetur, 'where of course he has to admit.' Müller's ingenious reading *qua quasi comminus nisus* is supported by the reference to 18. 6 agere enim fortius iam et audentius volo. But it is against it that on such an interpretation *fatetur* must = profitetur (17. 17). It is on the *admission made by* Aper that Messalla seems to found his argument for the preeminence of the Ciceronian age.

9. **etiam . . . nedum:** 'even . . . much more.' Cp. Ann. xv. 59, 6 etiam fortes viros subitis terreri nedum ille scaenicus . . . arma contra cieret: xiii. 20, 15 sed cuicunque, nedum parenti defensionem tribuendam: Hist. iii. 66, 14.

10. **quo modo . . . sic.** So 36. 33; 39. 6; 41. 9. Quintilian often has *quem ad modum . . . sic*: see on x. 5, 17.

11. **primae,** sc. partes. So Ann. xiv. 21, 21 eloquentiae primas nemo tulit, which

Aeschines et Hyperides et Lysias et Lycurgus obtinent, omnium autem concessu haec oratorum aetas maxime probatur, sic apud nos Cicero quidem ceteros eorundem temporum disertos antecessit, Calvus autem et Asinius et Caesar et Caelius et Brutus iure et prioribus et sequentibus anteponuntur. Nec refert quod inter se specie differunt, cum genere consentiant. Adstrictior Calvus, numerosior Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amarior Caelius,

13. *consensu* HV_2 Put. and edd. *sic* Eb, *sicut* cett. codd. 16. *iure* edd., *si uere* codd., *sic uire* H (*suo iure* Lipsius). 17. *differunt* Halm, *differant* codd. *Adstrictior* Acidalius, *at* (*aut*) *strictior* codd.

recalls πρωτεῖα φέρεσθαι: cp. Cic. Brut. § 183 primas ferre. Otherwise the phrase would seem to have been borrowed from the theatre: primas agere, Brut. § 308: Hor. Sat. i. 9. 46. Cp. Cic. Or. § 18 cui (Pericli) primae sine controversia deferebantur: Brut. § 84; ad Att. i. 17, 5.

12. **Lysias.** Usener proposed to exclude *et Lysias*; but Lysias is quite as much in place here as in the parallel enumeration in Quintilian x. 1, 78, where, however, the fact is indicated that he flourished some years before the others: his aetate maior Lysias, &c.

13. **concessu.** So Ann. iii. 61, 9; xii. 44, 4: Cic. Brut. § 84 ipsorum inter ipsos concessu, 'by their mutual admission': concessu omnium, pro Cael. § 28.

haec oratorum aetas. Cp. Quint. x. 1, 76 ut cum decem simul Athenis aetas una tulerit, with the notes ad loc. Cic. Brut. § 36 haec enim aetas effudit hanc copiam. Gerber and Greef take the expression as = horum oratorum aetas, and refer to 20. 20 nostrorum oratorum aetas: cp. also *in eo tragoediae argumento*, 2. 4.

14. **Cicero . . . antecessit.** Cp. Quintilian's eulogy, x. 1, 105 sq.: ab hominibus aetatis suae regnare in iudiciis dictus est, § 112. For the accus. after *antecessit*, cp. praecurrere, 20. 5: Germ. xliii, 19.

16. **quod,** 'that': cp. Plin. Ep. x. 30 nec enim multum interest quod nondum . . . distributi sunt.

17. **specie . . . genere:** Quint. xii. 10, 22 quos . . . inter se genere similes differentes dixeris specie.

Adstrictior Calvus: see on 17. 4, and cp. 'exsanguem et attritum,' 18. 23, with the notes: Quint. x. 1, 115. *Adstrictus* ('concise,' opp. to *liber*, *remissus*, *effusus*, &c.) expresses the 'Attic strictness' of Calvus, as distinguished from the rich fulness of Asianism: cp. the criticism of Cicero, 18. 19 inflatus et tumens nec satis pressus. So of Spurius Mummius, as compared with his brother Lucius, Cicero says (Brut. § 94) 'nihilo ille quidem ornatior sed tamen adstrictior: fuit enim doctus ex disciplina Stoicorum': cp. quo minus *strictus* est (of Aeschines) Quint. x. 1, 77. In 31. 21, below, we have 'adstrictum et collectum dicendi genus,' where see note.

18. **numerosior Asinius:** 'more rhythmical,' as compared with Calvus. Meiser's conjecture *nervosior* has been adopted by some recent editors against the testimony of all the MSS.: it seems to have been based on a misunderstanding of *adstrictior*, the meaning of which is fully explained above. If *adstrictus* is wrongly taken (as by Wolff) in the sense of *numero adstrictus* (Cic. de Or. i. § 254: cp. iii. § 175), then *numerosior* undoubtedly becomes a difficulty. *Numerosa* as applied to *oratio* is frequent in Cicero and Quintilian: cp. 'numerosus Horatius,' Ovid, Trist. iv. 10, 49. For Asinius Pollio, see on 12. ad fin.

splendidior Caesar. Cic. Brut. § 261 splendidam quandam . . . rationem dicendi tenet, voce, motu forma etiam magnifica et generosa quodammodo. Cp. Cicero in Suetonius, Caesar, § 55, Quis verbis aut ornatior aut elegantior? See on 21. 20.

amarior Caelius. With *amarior* ('more rasping') cp. Quint. x. 2, 25 asperitatem Caelii: Sen. de Ira, iii. 8, 6 oratorem . . . iracundissimum. For an example of the style of Caelius, see Quint. iv. 2, 123–4, where Quintilian says 'nihil his . . . vehementius exprobrari . . . potest.' Cp. on 21. 13.

gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero: omnes tamen eandem sanitatem eloquentiae *prae se* ferunt, ut, si omnium pariter libros in manum sumpseris, scias quamvis in diversis ingeniis esse quandam iudicii ac voluntatis similitudinem et cognationem. Nam quod invicem se obtrectaverunt et sunt aliqua epistulis eorum inserta, ex quibus mutua malignitas detegitur, non est oratorum vitium, sed hominum. Nam et Calvum et Asinium et ipsum Ciceronem credo solitos *esse* invidere et livere et ceteris humanae infirmitatis vitiis adfici: solum inter hos arbitror Brutum non malignitate nec invidia, sed simpliciter et ingenue iudicium animi sui detexisse. An ille Ciceroni invideret, qui mihi videtur ne Caesari quidem invidisse? Quod ad Servium Galbam et C. Laelium attinet, et si quos alios antiquiorum agitare non destitit, non exigit defensorem, cum fatear quae-

20. *sanitatem* Rhenanus, *sanctitatem* codd. *prae se ferunt* Andresen, *ferunt* EHb *serunt* ABCD, *praeferunt* Acidalius. 21. *scias* B, *sciam* ABDC, om. HSp. 23. *cognationem* Beroaldus, *cogitationem* codd. [*se*] Nipperdey, Halm, Andresen. 26. *solitos esse* is my conj., *solitos et* codd. Nipperdey rejects *et invidere*, and so Halm.: others omit *et*. 27. *livore* Ritter. 28. *Brutum* Put., *utrum* ACH, *uerum* B. 29. *invideret Ciceroni* HV Sp. 32. *agitare* codd., *Aper agitare* P. Voss.

19. **gravior Brutus.** Cp. Quint. xii. 10, 11 gravitatem Bruti: x. 1, 123 Brutus suffecit ponderi rerum. See on 17. 4.

20. **sanitatem.** Cp. Cic. Brut. § 51 illam salubritatem Atticae dictionis et quasi sanitatem: de Opt. Gen. Or. § 8 imitemur . . . eos potius qui incorrupta sanitate sunt, quod est proprium Atticorum. So ὑγιές in Greek.

22. **iudicii ac voluntatis,** 'taste and sympathies.' So Cic. de Or. ii. § 94. For *iudicium*, cp. 21. 38.

23. **Nam quod.** This use of *quod* ('as regards the fact that'), so common in Cicero and Caesar, is said to occur in Tacitus only here. For *invicem se obtrectaverunt*, cp. Agric. vi. 4 invicem se anteponendo.

28. **non malignitate nec invidia.** Cp. 23. 25 malignitas et invidia: Agric. xli. 17 malignitate et livore: Hist. i. 1, 11 obtrectatio et livor. There is a slight zeugma between these ablatives and *detexisse*.

29. **iudicium animi sui,** 'his innermost convictions': cp. 27. ad fin., iudicium animi: Cic. de Or. 363 gaudeo iudicium animi mei comprobari. For Brutus's sincerity, cp. Quint. x. 1, 123 scias eum sentire quae dicit: also Caesar's remark about him (Cic. ad Att. xiv. 1, 2) 'magni refert hic quid velit, sed quicquid vult valde vult.'

29. **An . . . invideret,** 'Why should he have been jealous of': cp. crederes, videres, Roby, § 1544. So 'Ego tibi irascerer!' Cic. ad Qu. Fr. i. 3, 1.

30. **Quod ad . . . attinet.** This formula is found in Tacitus only here, and in Agric. xxxiii. 23. In Quintilian the interrogative form (quid attinet?) is very common; also the negative (nihil attinet), which occurs once in Tacitus (Ann. xii. 60, 18).

Servium Galbam. See on 18. 3, where he is named along with Carbo, not Laelius. For the eloquence of Laelius, cp. Cic. Brut. § 83 sqq. multo tamen vetustior et horridior ille quam Scipio . . . delectari mihi magis antiquitate videtur et libenter verbis etiam uti paulo magis priscis Laelius.

32. **exigit.** The subject is probably the *id* that must be supplied with the relative clause *quod . . . attinet.* Novak reads *exigunt*: cp. 24. 7 neque enim defensorem antiquorum exigimus.

dam eloquentiae eorum ut nascenti adhuc nec satis adultae defuisse.

26. Ceterum si omisso optimo illo et perfectissimo genere eloquentiae eligenda sit forma dicendi, malim hercle C. Gracchi impetum aut L. Crassi maturitatem quam calamistros Maecenatis aut tinnitus Gallionis: adeo melius est orationem vel hirta toga induere quam fucatis et meretriciis vestibus insignire. Neque enim oratorius iste, immo hercle ne virilis quidem cultus est, quo plerique temporum nostrorum actores ita utuntur ut lascivia

26. 1. *optimo* Put., *opimo* codd. 2 (and 6). *hercle* ABCΔDH, *hercule* EV_2. 4. *orationem* Andresen, *oratorem* codd. (*hirtam togam . . . . insigniri* Ritter, *hirtam togam . . . fucatis se* Polle). 7. *actores* most codd., *autores* B (*u* in litura), *auctores* A, *oratores* Ritter.

33. **adhuc,** 'as yet only': Hist. i. 31, 11 incipiens adhuc et necdum adulta seditio. So Cic. Brut. § 27 non nascentibus Athenis sed iam adultis.

26. 1. **omisso optimo illo,** &c., 'apart from the ideal of eloquence,' leaving the ideally perfect type out of account.

2. **C. Gracchi.** See on 18. 9. Plut. Tib. Gracch. ii. § 2 ἔντονος δὲ καὶ σφοδρὸς ὁ Γάϊος.

3. **Crassi maturitatem,** the 'ripe eloquence of Crassus': see Cic. de Or. ii. § 121: iii. §§ 33, 171: Brut. §§ 143, 215. So Quint. xii. 10, 11 'maturitatem Afri': of ripe judgment, Hist. i. 87 ad fin. 'maturitatem Galli.' Cp. 18. 10.'

calamistros, 'crimping-pins,' 'curling-tongs': a metaphor from the toilet, applied here to the bombastic flourish of words. Augustus was in the habit of making fun of these rhetorical flourishes of Maecenas: cuius μυροβρεχεῖς, ut ait, cincinnos usque quaque persequitur et imitando per iocum irridet, Suet. Aug. 86, where the *cincinni* are the 'curled tresses' which result from the application of the 'calamistri.' Cp. Cic. Or. § 78 Tum removebitur (sc. ex attico genere dicendi) omnis insignis ornatus quasi margaritarum, ne calamistri quidem adhibebuntur: Brut. § 262 qui volent illa (Caesaris commentarios) calamistris inurere.—For the implied criticism of Maecenas, cp. Sen. Ep. 114, 4.

4. **tinnitus,** 'jingling,' 'cling-clang.' Cp. Quint. ii. 3, 9 nam tumidos et corruptos et tinnulos et quocumque alio cacozeliae genere peccantes certum habeo non virium, sed infirmitatis vitio laborare. So *tinnulae sententiae* (of Seneca), Fronto, p. 240.

Gallionis. The reference is to L. Iunius Gallio, the friend of Ovid and the elder Seneca: the former addresses to him a letter of condolence on the death of his wife (ex Ponto iv. 11), the latter names him as one of the foremost declaimers of his time (Contr. x. pr. 13). Quintilian speaks of him disparagingly, ix. 2, 91 'remissius et pro suo ingenio . . . Gallio.' He adopted one of the sons of M. Seneca, who took his name, and is the Gallio known to us in connexion with the life of St. Paul (Acts xviii. 12).

toga . . . vestibus. The figure by which style is spoken of as the covering of thought is common in Cicero: de Or. i. § 142 tum ea (sc. inventa) denique vestire atque ornare oratione: Brut. § 262 omni ornatu orationis tamquam veste detracta: § 274 reconditas exquisitasque sententias mollis et pellucens vestiebat oratio. Cp. Quint. xii. 10, 47 do tempori ne hirta toga sit, non ut serica; viii. 3, 6.

5. **fucatis.** Cp. Cic. de Or. iii. § 100 cincinnis ac fuco: ii. § 188 sine pigmentis fucoque puerili: iii. § 199: Brut. § 136 in qua naturalis inesset non fucatus nitor: de Am. § 95 fucata et simulata. Tr. 'the paint and finery of the courtesan.'

7. **actores,** 'counsel.' In Cicero, *actor* is used with special reference to *actio* (delivery): de Or. iii. § 216 ex quo satis significavit quantum esset in actione qui orationem eandem aliam fore putarit actore mutato: Brut. § 221 fortis vero actor et vehemens: § 316: Or. § 61. Quintilian uses it as a synonym for *orator*:

verborum et levitate sententiarum et licentia compositionis histrionales modos exprimant. Quodque vix auditu fas esse debeat, laudis et gloriae et ingenii loco plerique iactant cantari saltarique commentarios suos: unde oritur illa foeda et praepostera, sed tamen frequens *facetis hominibus* exclamatio, ut oratores nostri tenere dicere, histriones diserte saltare dicantur. Equidem non negaverim Cassium Severum, quem solum Aper noster nominare

12. *frequens facetis hominibus* is my conj.: *freq. sicut his clā et* AHSp. (*clam et* B, *cla et* CΔD, *clausula et* some edd.), *sicut hisdam et* V_2, *sicut hisdam . . . . et* E: *frequens quibusdam* Rhenanus, and most edd., *fr. si dis placet* Andresen, *fr. circulis scholarum* Müller, *fr. iam et usitata* Buchholz, *sed tamen frequentissima iam est* Heller. 13. *tenere* Lipsius, *temere* codd.

ii. 12, 11. That other associations lingered round the word, may however be seen from xi. 3, 184 ne dum actoris captamus elegantiam, perdamus viri boni et gravis auctoritatem.

lascivia verborum, 'frivolity of style': cp. 29. 7 parvulos assuefaciunt . . . lasciviae et dicacitati, and see on 10. 16 elegorum lascivias. Cp. also Quint. xii. 10, 73 genus dicendi quod puerilibus sententiolis lascivit: x. 1, 43 recens haec lascivia deliciaeque.

8. **levitate . . . compositionis,** 'shallow thoughts and disorderly structure.' For *sententiarum* = sensuum, see on 20. 16.

histrionales modos: they reproduce the 'rhythms of the stage'—a thing which Cicero also deprecates, de Or. i. § 251. Cp. below, 'cantari saltarique commentarios.' In the *canticum*, or lyrical position of a Roman play, the *cantor* sang to a flute accompaniment, while the actor indicated by appropriate gestures the meaning of the words. For this sense of *modus*, cp. Ann. xvi. 4, 14 plebs urbis, histrionum quoque gestus iuvare solita, personabat certis modis ('in set time') plausuque composito: xiv. 15, 5. The adj. *histrionalis* is peculiar to Tacitus: it occurs below, 29. 10, and once again Ann. i. 16. 11.

9. **quod . . . debeat.** For the subjunctive, cp. quod interdum pudeat, Cic. de Or. 1, § 40: quod miserandum sit, de N. D. iii. § 62.

10. **laudis . . . loco**: 'as something commendable, famous, and clever.' *Ingenii* is used after *loco* by a construction rather different from that which connects 'laudis et gloriae' with 'loco.' With the latter, Novak compares 'quod gloriae loco . . . . dixit,' Quint. Decl. 267, 4.

plerique, 'many': see on 2. 10.

cantari saltarique, 'that their speeches can be sung, and danced to.' Cp. Cic. Or. § 57 est autem etiam in dicendo quidam cantus obscurior, non hic e Phrygia et Caria rhetorum epilogus paene canticum, where Dr. Sandys quotes Quint. xi. 3, 58 and 167: i. 8, 1–2.—For *cantari*, cp. Quint. ix. 4, 142 si sit necesse, duram potius atque asperam compositionem malim esse quam effeminatam et enervem, qualis apud multos, et cotidie magis lascivissimis syntonorum modis saltat. So again xi. 3, 57, Quintilian asks, 'quid enim minus oratori convenit quam modulatio scenica?': and by way of concluding (§ 181) repeats his warning against the immoderate use of stage-methods, 'non enim comoedum esse, sed oratorem volo.' Cp. Plin. Ep. ii. 14, 12 Pudet referre quae quam fracta pronuntiatione dicantur, quibus quam teneris clamoribus excipiantur. Plausus tantum ac potius sola cymbala et tympana illis canticis desunt.

11. **commentarios.** For this meaning, see on 23. 10.

12. **frequens facetis hominibus.** With *facetis* to represent *sicut his* of the MSS. it is possible to see in *clā* a case of a misunderstood contraction: the *et* before *exclamatio* must have resulted from some sort of dittography. I had also thought of 'frequentissima his moribus exclamatio,' though the superlative seems not to occur in Tacitus.—For the dative after 'frequens,' cp. Ann. ii. 33, 6 erat adhuc frequens senatoribus . . . promere.

exclamatio, 'of a pointed utterance': cp. 31. 29 below.

13. **tenere,** 'voluptuously': Cic. in Pis. § 89 cum his teneris saltatoribus. Cp. Quint. xi. 3, 23 molli teneraque voce: ix. 4, 31 refugit teneram delicatamque modulandi voluptatem.

ausus est, si iis comparetur qui postea fuerunt, posse oratorem vocari, quamquam in magna parte librorum suorum plus bilis habeat quam sanguinis. Primus enim contempto ordine rerum, omissa modestia ac pudore verborum, ipsis etiam quibus utitur armis incompositus et studio feriendi plerumque deiectus, non pugnat, sed rixatur. Ceterum, ut dixi, sequentibus comparatus et varietate eruditionis et lepore urbanitatis et ipsarum virium robore multum ceteros superat, quorum neminem Aper nominare et velut in aciem educere sustinuit. Ego autem exspectabam ut incusato Asinio et Caelio et Calvo aliud nobis agmen produceret, pluresque vel certe totidem nominaret, ex quibus alium Ciceroni, alium Caesari, singulis deinde singulos opponeremus. Nunc detrectasse nominatim antiquos oratores contentus neminem sequentium laudare ausus est nisi in publicum et in commune,

15. *posse* most codd., *post se* A, *pos*se* B. 16. *bilis* Wopkens, *vis* codd. (others *viri*, *suci*, *carnis*, &c.). 17. *contempto* ABEV$_2$, *contento* CΔDH. 19. *studio* E and edd., *studiis* codd. *deiectus* ABEV$_2$ΔH, *devectus* DC, *detectus* Lipsius (and so also Heller, Philologus li. p. 349). 23 *velut* most codd., *vult* A and (originally) B. 24. *incusato* EV$_2$CΔ, *in Curato* A, *in curato* H, *incurato* BD. 25. *plurisque* ABEV$_2$. *plerisque* DCΔH. 26. *Nunc* Rhenanus, *non* codd. 28. *in commune* ABΔH, *in comune* ED, *in omne* C.

16. **plus bilis.** So Quint. x. 1, 117 nam et ingenii plurimum est in eo et acerbitas mira et urbanitas et fervor, sed plus stomacho quam consilio dedit. Praeterea ut amari sales, ita frequenter amaritudo ipsa ridicula est.

19. **armis incompositus**: 'awkward with the weapons,' &c. For the ablative, editors quote Quint. iv. 5, 10 incompositus moribus. The juxtaposition of *res*, *verba*, and *incompositus* would naturally lead us to expect in the last a reference to *compositio*, in respect of which Cassius is censured by M. Seneca: cp. 21. 17, and Quint. x. 3, 9 *res* . . . *verba* . . . *compositio*, 2 § 13, 1 § 118. But it seems better to take *incompositus* in the general sense of 'disordered,' in which it is appropriate to the military figures in the context: elsewhere in Tacitus the word is used only of the disordered array of an army, Hist. ii. 40, 6; iii. 48, 3; iv. 34, 19. Cassius did not know how to handle his weapons: cp. the use of *inhabilis*.—For *arma* in this sense cp. Quint. x. 1, 30; xii. 5, 1. The military tone of the passage is kept up in *in aciem deducere*, and *agmen producere*, below.

plerumque = saepe: see on 6. 8.

deiectus, sc. de gradu: cp. Cic. de Off. 1 § 80 tumultuantem de gradu deici, ut dicitur, where Holden points out that *gradus* (cp. *de statu*, Or. § 129) is the posture of a man with his legs apart: so that the figure is taken from a combatant who loses his balance through eagerness to strike and is thus 'thrown off his guard': cp. Quint. iv. 2, 26 in armorum ratione antiquior cavendi quam ictum inferendi cura est. So ad Att. xvi. 15, 3 mihi videtur . . . deiectus de gradu: Tusc. ii. § 58 de dignitatis gradu demoveri: pro Caec. § 42.

20. **rixatur**, of 'brawling,' as opposed to scientific fighting. Quint. ii. 12, 2 qui armorum inscius in rixam ruit: vi. 4, 9: xi. 1, 29.

22. **ceteros.** There is a slight awkwardness in *ceteros*, after *sequentibus*: Baehrens proposed 'cunctos,' Halm 'eos.'

23. **sustinuit** = ἔτλη, 'did not venture to,' 'could not bring himself to': Hist. i. 37. This use is common in Ovid, also in Quintilian.

28. **in publicum** = in universum, 'in general.' Cp. Ann. xiii. 56, 4 haec in

veritus, credo, ne multos offenderet si paucos excerpsisset. Quotus enim quisque scholasticorum non hac sua persuasione fruitur, ut se ante Ciceronem numeret, sed plane post Gabinianum? At ego non verebor nominare singulos, quo facilius propositis exemplis adpareat quibus gradibus fracta sit et deminuta eloquentia.'

27. 'Appara te' inquit Maternus 'et potius exsolve promissum. Neque enim hoc colligi desideramus, disertiores esse antiquos, quod apud me quidem in confesso est, sed causas exquirimus quas te solitum tractare paulo ante *dixisti*, plane mitior et eloquentiae temporum nostrorum minus iratus, antequam te Aper offenderet maiores tuos lacessendo.'

29. *offenderet* most codd., *laederet* B. 31. *sed* codd., *etsi* Schoell, Halm, Müller. 33. *fracta* B, *freta* ADCHEV$_2$.

27. 1. *Appara te* B, *Apparate* AC (above the line *aparte*), *Aparte* DΔ, *Aperte* EV$_2$, *Approperate* HSp., *Appropera* Put. See below. 2. *hoc* EV$_2$CΔH, *hec* AB, *hęc* D. 4. *dixisti* suppl. Lipsius: Halm after *tractare*. *tum quidem plane* Haase, Müller. *mitior et eloquentiae* Schele, *mitior eloquentia et* codd. 5. *minus iratus* Weissenborn, *miratus iratus* codd.

publicum Ampsivariis ('to the A. as a people') respondit, ipsi Boiocalo, &c.

in commune (εἰς τὸ κοινόν) is specially frequent in Tacitus (Gerber and Greef, p. 589). For a similar antithesis to that cited above, cp. Germ. xxvii. 9 haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus: nunc singularum gentium instituta, &c.

29. **excerpsisset.** The meaning is rather different here from 22. 13 nihil excerpere . . . possis, where the word literally = to extract. Cp. with the text Quint. x. 1, 44 paucos enim, qui sunt eminentissimi, excerpere in animo est: Liv. xxiv. 18, 7.

30. **scholasticorum,** 'professional rhetoricians': cp. 15. ad fin.

persuasione. The word is frequent in this sense in Quintilian xi. 3, 11 verum illi persuasione sua fruantur. Tr. 'how few there are who do not flatter themselves by imagining,' &c.

31. **numeret.** Hist. ii. 77, 1 nobis nihil ultra adrogabo quam ne post Valentem et Caecinam numeremur.

plane. See Quintil. x. Introd. p. lii, and cp. plane leviores 35. 14.

Gabinianus, Sex. Iulius, was a countryman of Aper's, and a rhetorician of great repute. In the index to Suetonius's fragmentary work *de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, his name is placed immediately before that of Quintilian: Roth, p. 272.

32. **verebor,** c. infin. Cp. Quint. x. 7, 26 note: 1 § 101.

Ch. 27. *Maternus interrupts Messalla, in order to remind him that he had undertaken to discuss the causes of the decline of oratory.*

27. 1. **Appara te,** the reading of the MSS. is as likely to be right as anything that it has been proposed to substitute for it. Maternus is often abruptly emphatic in introducing a sentence: cp. credite, 41. 19. Tr. 'Make ready.'—Halm (after Michaelis) reads 'At parce': perhaps 'Apro parce' would be better. Müller has 'Operae parce,' Usener suggests 'Ah parce,' Meiser 'Apparet.'

2. **colligi**: 17. 24; 38. 19. For the acc. c. inf. (after 'desideramus') see D^r. § 146.

3. **in confesso**: 25. 7.

4. **paulo ante**: 15. 12.

plane ('distinctly') **mitior et . . . minus iratus**: so 35. 14 plane leviores et minus prudentiae exigentes.

6. **maiores tuos.** A reference may be included here to 25. 6; but more specifically the phrase indicates Messalla's relationship to Messalla Corvinus 20. 2: 21. 36. So in Hist. iii. 9 Messalla is spoken of as 'claris maioribus.'

'Non sum' inquit 'offensus Apri disputatione, nec *nunc* vos offendi decebit, si quid forte aures vestras perstringat, cum sciatis hanc esse eius modi sermonum legem, iudicium animi citra damnum adfectus proferre.'

'Perge' inquit Maternus 'et cum de antiquis loquaris, utere antiqua libertate, a qua vel magis degeneravimus quam ab eloquentia.'

28. Et Messalla: 'Non reconditas, Materne, causas requiris, nec aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro ignotas, etiam si mihi partes adsignatis proferendi in medium quae omnes sentimus. Quis enim ignorat et eloquentiam et ceteras artes descivisse ab illa vetere gloria non inopia hominum, sed desidia

7. *Apri* Vahlen, *a prima* codd., *Apri mei* Schurzfleisch. *nec nunc* is my conj., *nam nec* EV$_2$CΔ, *nam et* ABDH, *nec* Put. and Halm, who also proposes *nec iam* (Andresen *nec mea*). 8. *perstringat* AB, *perstringit* EV$_2$CΔHb, *perstrigit* D. 11. *et cum* EV$_2$CΔ (om. HSp.), *cum* ABD. 12. *a qua* b and edd., *qua* codd.
28. 1. *Et* EV$_2$CΔDH, *Qui* AB, *Tum* B corr., *Cui* Halm: perhaps *Atque.* 5. *hominum* codd., *honorum* Baehrens, *praemiroum* Helmreich, *ingeniorum* Jacob, *aptorum hominum* Novak.

7. **nec nunc**, 'and no more must you now,' &c. Cp. Ann. xi. 30, 6 nec nunc adulteria obiecturum ait.

8. **perstringat**, of something that grates upon the ear. Similarly Hor. Car. ii. 1, 17 Iam nunc minaci murmure cornuum Perstringis aures, 'deafen': and in Cicero (for to 'chafe,' 'graze,' 'wound slightly'), pro Sest. § 14 ut eos quorum sceleris furore violatus essem vocis libertate perstringerem.

9. **citra damnum adfectus**, 'without any loss of good-will.' *Adfectus* here = good-feeling; cp. Ann. xiv. 27, 12 sine adfectibus mutuis (=sine consensu et caritate): Agr. xxxii. 8 fide et adfectu teneri. Similar genitives often follow *damnum* in Tacitus: Ann. iii. 58, 11 nullo sacrorum damno. Andresen takes *adfectus* as an explanatory genitive: 'the disadvantage involved in excited feeling.'—For this use of **citra** (=*sine*) cp. 41. 25 citra obtrectationem: Agric. xxxv. 6 citra Romanum sanguinem: Germ. xvi. 8 citra speciem aut delectationem. So Ov. Trist. v. 8, 23 peccavi citra scelus ('short of'): Plin. Ep. ii. 1, 4 citra dolorem tamen: Lucan iv. 728; and frequently in Quintilian, x. 1, 2; 7 § 7; xii. 6, 4.

Chs. 28–35. *Speech of Messalla, tracing the decline of eloquence to* (1) *the loss of the old system of home training in early youth, and the substitution of mechanical routine for general culture* (chs. 28–32); *and, after a short interruption,* (2) *the usurpation by the schools of rhetoric of the part that had been played in former days by distinguished leaders of the bar, to whom the young aspirant was in the habit of attaching himself* (chs. 33–35).

28. 1. **Et Messalla.** For the opening, cp. Cic. de Or. iii. 48 Tum Crassus 'pervulgatas res requiris' inquit 'et tibi non incognitas. Quis enim,' &c.: ib. 1 § 137: de Rep. 1 § 70.

2. **aut . . . aut . . . vel.** In the similar passage 15. 9, above, we have *aut . . . aut . . . aut.* The use of *vel* here must be intended to indicate subordination: 'neither to you, on the one hand, nor to either of our friends, on the other.' So Ann. xiv. 3, 2 in hortos aut Tusculanum vel Antiatem in agrum: ib. 49, 14 non ideo aut consules . . . Thrasea . . . ceterive (where Thrasea has carried the senate with him against the consul).

5. **inopia hominum.** It seems best to keep to the reading of the MSS.: there is no lack of suitable persons, but their abilities are not turned to proper account. So 'inopia advocatorum,' Ann. xi. 7, 3.—Andresen takes 'inopia' of want of

iuventutis et neglegentia parentum et inscientia praecipientium et oblivione moris antiqui? quae mala primum in urbe nata, mox per Italiam fusa, iam in provincias manant. Quamquam vestra vobis notiora sunt: ego de urbe et his propriis ac vernaculis vitiis loquar, quae natos statim excipiunt et per singulos aetatis gradus cumulantur, si prius de severitate ac disciplina maiorum circa educandos formandosque liberos pauca praedixero. Nam pridem suus cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, non in cella emptae nutricis, sed gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis. Eligebatur autem maior aliqua natu propinqua, cuius probatis specta-

8. *in* BEH, om. $AV_2C\Delta D$. 9. *his* codd., *huius* Spengel, Halm, *eius* Meiser. 11. *de* B corr., *a* codd. 13. *Nam* Weissenborn, *iam* codd. 14. *cella* Put., *cellā* codd. (*cēlla* C), *cellula* Baehrens. *gremio* codd., *in gremio* Andresen. *educabatur* $EV_2C\Delta DHb$, *educabitur* AB. 15. *erat* $EV_2C\Delta Hb$, *erit* ABD. After *liberis* Bernhardy proposed to insert 'ac non studia . . . accepimus' (19–23). *Eligebatur autem* codd., *elig. etiam* Schöll, *aut eligebatur* Meiser, Baehrens, John.

ability; cp. infirmitas ingenii 19. 4. *Hominum* is then a defining genitive 'on the part of' those who furnish the natural material for the practice of eloquence and the other arts. On this interpretation, John compares Cic. de Or. i. § 16 where 'praestantissima hominum ingenia' is mentioned among the requirements of eloquence.

6. **praecipientium** = praeceptorum. For the substantival use of the present participle, cp. Quintilian x. Introd. p. xlix. So discentium = discipulorum 30. 1, below: cp. dicentium, orantibus 6. 18, and 20.—On the *inscientia* and other faults of the *praeceptores* cp. Quint. xii. 11, 14.

7. **moris antiqui**: Hist. ii. 64, 9.

8. **Quamquam**, used as an adverb ('however') only here and 33. 16: Germ. xvii. 5: Ann. xii. 65, 12.

9. **vestra**, referring to 'in provincias,' above. Aper and Secundus were natives of Gaul, and so also, in all probability, was Maternus. Messalla himself was the only Roman in the company. An antithesis to *vestra* is contained in *his*, below, which is used, as often, with reference to existing and familiar conditions: cp. 7. 16 tunicatus hic populus: 21. 4 haec ossa: Quint. x. 1, 43 recens haec lascivia.

propriis ac vernaculis, i.e. our own home-grown Roman vices, those that surround, as it were, our cradle (natos statim excipiunt): so propria et peculiaria huius urbis vitia, 29. 9. For *proprius* = domesticus, cp. Ann. xii. 29, 14; Hist. iv. 16, 9. So crimen domesticum ac vernaculum, Cic. in Verr. ii. 3, 141.

11. **si prius . . . praedixero**, 16. 5; 18. 7.

severitate ac disciplina: so 24 below, 'disciplina ac severitas,' of a rigorous system of training; cp. 29. ad fin. severitate disciplinae: Germ. xxv. 7 non disciplina et severitate: Ann. vi. 15, 7 Cassius . . . severa patris disciplina eductus.

12. **circa**: cp. Ann. xi. 15, 7 publica circa bonas artes socordia, and see on 3. 16 above. With the gerundive (as here) it is frequent in Quintilian and Pliny the Younger.

14. **gremio ac sinu matris**. Contrast this with 'neglegentia parentum,' above. For the expression, cp. Agr. iv. 7 in huius (matris) sinu indulgentiaque educatus: Germ. xx. 2 sua quemque mater uberibus alit, nec ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur. Cic. Brut. § 211 apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos quam in sermone matris. Cp. Quint. i. 1, 6.

15. **Eligebatur autem**, i.e. when the mother could not undertake the whole charge herself.

16. **probatis spectatisque**, a not unusual collocation: homines . . . spectati et probati, Cic. de Or. i. § 124.

tisque moribus omnis eiusdem familiae suboles committeretur; coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur. Ac non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam lususque puerorum sanctitate quadam ac verecundia temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Caesaris, sic Atiam Augusti [matrem] praefuisse educationibus ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus. Quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta unius cuiusque natura toto statim pectore arriperet artes honestas, et sive ad rem militarem sive ad iuris scientiam sive ad eloquentiae studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriret.

18. *dicere* EHB corr., *discere* most codd. 22. *Atiam* Ernesti, *Actiam* BH, *Acciam* most codd. *matrem* codd., del. Sauppe. 24. *nullis* Rhenanus, *in nullis* codd. (*in nullius* H). 26. *rem militarem* $EV_2C\Delta DH$, *militarem* AB.

18. **coram qua.** It has been proposed to refer *qua* to *suboles* (cp. 29. 5, quid coram infante domino aut dicat aut faciat): but this breaks the continuity of the passage, and 'suboles' cannot be separated from 'eiusdem familiae.' *Qua* must be connected with *propinqua*. The latter is, as it were, the mother's deputy; and what is said of her is inferentially still more true of the mother herself. This explains the transition, through 'temperabat,' to the statement about the well-known matrons of antiquity. The mother is thought of throughout, even where her 'deputy' is mentioned.—John simplifies the passage still further by reading 'aut eligebatur' for 'eligebatur autem': perhaps 'eligebatur autem interdum.' He is undoubtedly right in insisting that the contrast is not between the old-fashioned respect for children and the shamelessness of their attendants now, but between the conscientious care which parents used to bestow on upbringing and supervision and the modern 'happy-go-lucky' system.

19. **curas . . . remissiones.** Cp. Agric. ix. 8 iam vero tempora curarum remissionumque divisa.

21. **Corneliam.** Cic. Brut. § 104 fuit Gracchus diligentia Corneliae matris a puero doctus et Graecis litteris eruditus: ib. § 211: Quint. i. 1, 6 nam Gracchorum eloquentiae multum contulisse accepimus Corneliam matrem, cuius doctissimus sermo in posteros quoque est epistulis traditus.

Aureliam, daughter of M. Aurelius Cotta. Plut. Caes. ix. *ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Καίσαρος, Αὐρηλία, γυνὴ σώφρων.*

22. **Atiam.** Atia was the daughter of M. Atius Balbus, and Caesar's sister Julia: Suet. Aug. iv.

educationibus. For similar plurals in Tacitus, see Dr. § 2, 5. So *pravitatibus*, below.

23. **produxisse,** of training up, Juv. xiv. 228.

principes liberos: tr. 'their distinguished sons.' Cp. principes feminae, Plin. N. H. viii. 32, 119: principibus viris, Ann. iii. 6, 5. They were the children of the leading men of their day, and themselves destined for greatness.

24. **eo pertinebat, ut.** 'The object of this was': cp. Ann. iii. 12, 16. Others take it of the result secured, rather than of the end aimed at.

sincera et integra, 'sound at the core and uncontaminated': Hist. iv. 64, 20 sincerus et integer et servitutis oblitus populus.

25. **arriperet.** Founding on Verg. Aen. iv. 531, ix. 276, Prof. Nettleship proposed (Journ. Phil. xix. p. 110) to read *acciperet*: but the lexx. show similar instances of the use of 'arripere' in Cicero and Nepos.

28. **hauriret.** Cp. 30. 16; 31. 32: Agric. iv. 15 se . . . studium philosophiae acrius . . . hausisse.

29. At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae, cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio adcommodatus. Horum fabulis et erroribus teneri statim et rudes animi imbuuntur; nec quisquam in tota domo pensi habet quid coram infante domino aut dicat aut faciat. Quin etiam ipsi parentes nec probitati neque modestiae parvulos adsuefaciunt, sed lasciviae et dicacitati, per quae paulatim impudentia inrepit et sui alienique contemptus.

29. 4. *teneri* most edd., *et virides teneri* AB (*et virides* del. b, om. H, Put.), *et viles ten.* C^1, *et vires ten.* $C^2\Delta D$, *et vides ten.* EV_2 (by dittography from *et rudes*, as Halm suggests, or a corruption of *et vitiis teneri* Eckstein, Michaelis, Peter, *et vitiis* having been added by some copyist as an attempt to explain *erroribus*). 6. *nec probitati* BHC^2, *improbitati* A^1V_2 *nec improbitati* C^1D, *non probitati* Baehrens, Vahlen, Halm. 7. *dicacitati* B corr., *bibacitati* $ABCDEV_2$, *libertati* HV Sp. and edd. vett.

29. 1. **delegatur.** So Germ. xx. 3 nec ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur (sc. infantes).

Graeculae. Cp. Juv. iii. 78 omnia novit Graeculus esuriens: in caelum iusseris ibit; Plin. Pan. 13 § 5 exercitationibus nostris ... Graeculus magister assistit. So also slightingly in Cicero de Or. i. § 221 illum ineptum et Graeculum putent: in Pis. § 70.

2. **unus aut alter.** See on 21. 6. The slaves referred to would be the 'paedagogi' or 'custodes.' For a contrast, cp. Hor. Sat. i. 6, 86 sq. Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus, &c.

plerumque. See on 6. 8.

3. **cuiquam.** This is the only instance in Tacitus of the adjectival use of this pronoun. It is more usually found along with names of persons or words implying personality: cp. note on Quint. x. 2, 6.

4. **erroribus,** perhaps best taken as = 'peccatis' (Hist. iii. 37. 8; iv. 52. 6), though a stronger word might have been looked for, in the case of slaves: tr. 'their gossip and follies.' Baehrens compares Minucius Felix, xxiii. 1 has fabulas et errores ab imperitis parentibus discimus. Others take the word of the perversities and prejudices of the 'paedagogi': cp. Quint. i. 1, 8 nec minus error eorum nocet moribus, &c. It is unnecessary to substitute 'moribus' or 'sermonibus,' as has been proposed.

teneri et rudes. These adjectives are commonly used to denote the plasticity of youth: John quotes Cic. de Leg. i. § 47 teneros et rudes cum acceperunt inficiunt et flectunt quo volunt: ii. § 38 animi teneri atque molles: Quint. i. 11, 2 quae mentem praecipue in aetate prima teneram adhuc et rudem inficiunt: ib. i. 1, 5 & 20: Hor. Ep. i. 2, 64.

5. **in tota domo.** In such phrases the preposition is sometimes inserted (cp. Hist. i. 4, 3 in toto orbe terrarum), sometimes omitted (Hist. iv. 58, 24 toto terrarum orbe).

pensi habet: Hist. i. 46, 13: Ann. xiii. 15, 19. The phrase is found in Sallust and Livy, as well as in Quintilian and later writers: Roby §§ 1298, 1301.—Compare on the other hand Juvenal's well-known 'Maxima debetur pueris reverentia,' xiv. 47.

6. **nec . . . neque:** so 41. 22; Germ. ix. 6; Hist. iv. 31, 5; Ann. ii. 3, 10. There is thus no need for the emendation *non . . . neque.*

7. **lasciviae et dicacitati,** 'pertness and sauciness'; cp. Quint. vi. 3, 41 Siculi quidem, ut sunt lascivi et dicaces, aiebant in delphino sedisse et sic tamquam Ariona transvectum. See the parallel passage in Quint. i. 2, 7 Gaudemus, si quid licentius dixerint, &c.

8. **impudentia inrepit.** So Plin. Ep. iii. 20, 8 est enim periculum ne . . . impudentia inrepat.

sui alienique contemptus, 'want of self-respect, as well as of respect for others.' *Alieni* is used here on the analogy of *sui,* which is an objective genitive, Roby § 1312. It therefore practically = *aliorum*: just as in Ann. xv. 57, 11, for example (in tanta necessitate alienos ac prope ignotos protegendo), *alienos* is much the same as *alios.* In

Iam vero propria et peculiaria huius urbis vitia paene in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque studia: quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? Quotum quemque invenies qui domi quicquam aliud loquatur? Quos alios adulescentulorum sermones excipimus, si quando auditoria intravimus? Ne praeceptores quidem ullas crebriores cum auditoribus suis fabulas habent; colligunt enim discipulos non severitate disciplinae nec ingenii experimento, sed ambitione salutationum et inlecebris adulationis.

30. Transeo prima discentium elementa, in quibus et ipsis

12. *relinquit* ABEV$_2$H, *relinquitur* CΔD. *invenies* EV$_2$CΔDH, *invenires* AB.
14. *Ne* edd., *Nec* codd. except E.

other contexts, the opposition between *suum* and *alienum* is of material property: Sall. Cat. v. 4 alieni adpetens, sui profusus: cp. ibid. xii. 2: Tac. Hist. i. 4, 9: Cic. de Or. i. § 173. So here John 'want of regard for what is one's own, as well as for what belongs to others': the explanation being that, when a man loses his sense of what is right, he will both sacrifice what is his own and take what does not belong to him in the reckless pursuit of pleasure. But the other rendering supposes a construction into which a writer like Tacitus might easily have slipped. In any case there is no sufficient ground for rejecting the whole expression with Gudeman, as an interlinear gloss supplied by a monkish scribe.

9. **paene in utero.** Cp. Cic. Tusc. Disp. iii. 1 paene cum lacte nutricis errorem suxisse videamur.

10. **histrionalis favor** = favor erga histriones. For the adj. see on 26. 8: cp. Ann. i. 16, 10 histrionali studio: xiii. 25, 17 ludicram quoque licentiam et fautores histrionum velut in proelia convertit impunitate et praemiis.

gladiatorum. The word is here used by metonymy for 'spectaculum gladiatorum.' So frequently in Tacitus 'gladiatores edere.'

11. **equorum,** 'horse-racing.' For the form which it took at Rome, see Plin. Ep. ix. 6, and Professor Mayor's exhaustive notes on Juvenal xi. 197 sqq.

occupatus et obsessus animus. Tacitus constantly uses such participles in place of abstract verbal substantives or their equivalents, especially as the subject of a verb. 37. 25.

12. **Quotum quemque.** See on Quint. x. 1, 41. Mayor (l. c.) quotes the admonition of Epictetus, Man. 33 § 32, 'Speak seldom, and in few words: when occasion demands it, speak, but not on trivial matters, not of sword plays, nor of horse races, nor of athletes.'

14. **Ne . . . quidem,** as at 10. 1, and 40. 14. The MSS. have *nec* . . . *quidem* which some try to explain as = *ac ne* . . . *quidem* (13. 1 and 24. 9): but Helmreich is right in holding that *nec* is a copyist's error, especially as the suggested explanation cannot be applied to passages like Ann. iv. 35, 8 quas nec (so M) victor quidem abolevit; xiv. 35, 7 (where see Furneaux), or Hist. i. 66, 2. So in Agr. xviii. 31 B gives *nec* while A has *ne*.

17. **experimento** = documento, as often: Ann. xii. 6, 6 datum ab ea fecunditatis experimentum.

ambitione, &c., 'by interested visits of ceremony and all the tricks of toadyism.'

30. 1. **Transeo,** more usually *omitto* or *praetereo*. For the form of the sentence, consisting of two independent clauses, (instead of *ut transeam* in the first) cp. Cic. pro Sest. § 54 omitto gratulationes, epulas, partitionem aerarii . . . vexabatur uxor mea, liberi ad necem quaerebantur: de Sen. § 52.

discentium. See on *praecipientium* 28. 6. For these 'prima elementa,' see Quintilian's first book.

et ipsis. In Tacitus, *et ipse* occurs

parum laboratur: nec in auctoribus cognoscendis nec in evolvenda antiquitate nec in notitia vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum satis operae insumitur. Sed expetuntur quos rhetoras vocant;

30. 3. *notitia* corr. BE and edd., *notitiam* most codd. and Baehrens. 4. *vocant* EV$_2$CΔ, *vocantis* D, *vocatis* AB (†vocant), *vocant ut* HSp.

most frequently in the nominative; cp. 37. 15 below, quae et ipsa plurimum eloquentiae praestant, and for other instances see Gerber and Greef, s. v. *et*, pp. 399, 400. The ablative is found Hist. i. 42, 1 Titum inde Vinium invasere: de quo et ipso ambigitur, &c. In Livy, *et ipse* is frequently used, like *ipse quoque*, as = καὶ αὐτός. No conclusive instance can be cited from Cicero: see on Quintilian x. 1, 31.

2. **nec in**, &c. After the 'prima elementa,' the education of a Roman youth was continued in 'grammatice' or 'litteratura' (Quint. ii. 1, 4): and Messalla's complaint is that both these stages were now prematurely displaced by a barren and unreal training in the technical rules of rhetoric.

auctoribus = scriptoribus. In the Ciceronian age, *auctor* carried with it the idea of 'authority,' 'warranty,' or the like: see on Quint. x 1, 24. For 'cognoscere auctores,' cp. Quint. x. 5, 8.

evolvenda antiquitate. Cic. de Or. i. § 18 tenenda praeterea est omnis antiquitas exemplorumque vis. While the reading and explanation of great writers, especially poets, was the most important function of the 'grammaticus' (Quint. i. 4–9), instruction was also given in history (Cic. de Or. i. § 187; Quint. i. 2, 14; cp. x. 1, 34 with the notes), as well as in the elements of science and philosophy,—physics, logic, and ethics (Quint. i. 4, 4): thus Quintilian says of 'grammatice' in ii. 1, 4 'tenuis a fonte adsumptis poetarum historicorumque viribus pleno iam satis alveo fluit, cum praeter rationem recte loquendi non parum alioqui copiosam prope omnium maximarum artium scientiam amplexa sit.'

3. **rerum,** 'departments of knowledge' (cp. omnium rerum scientia, below): **hominum,** 'human nature,' 'character': **temporum,** 'circumstances.' Concrete conditions, Messalla means, are not sufficiently studied: their place is taken by 'fictae et nullo modo ad veritatem accedentes controversiae' (31. 3). That this is the meaning seems to me to be evident from a comparison of the definition with which the chapter concludes, where we have again 'rerum,' 'temporum' and 'audientium. The necessity for a knowledge of character ('hominum notitia,' cp. nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam, 31. 11) and for a due appreciation of the effect which different situations are likely to produce upon the feelings of an audience ('temporum notitia'), is enlarged on in the next chapter: see esp. 'sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos . . . dicendum habuerit,' &c., and cp. Cic. Or. § 123 sit temporum personarumque moderator, nam nec semper nec apud omnes . . . eodem modo dicendum arbitror.—John, however, gives a very different interpretation, which is sufficiently ingenious to merit special notice. He thinks that, just as 'antiquitas' in the text refers to 'history and antiquities,' so 'res' denotes physics (including astronomy), as in 'rerum motus causasque,' in line 22, below: while by 'homines' he understands ethics and psychology (31. 4), and by 'tempora' a knowledge of political theory. The last branch would correspond to Cicero's 'prudentia iuris publici,' de Or. i. §§ 301, 256, or 'rerum civilium cognitio et prudentia,' ib. i. § 60: cp. also ib. i. §§ 159, 165, 48: iii. §§ 72, 76. This would leave only dialectics or logic without special reference in the enumeration of the functions of the 'grammaticus.'

4. **insumitur** = impenditur. So also in Quintilian (iii. 4, 5), but more usually with the dative, as Ann. iii. 44, 7 libellis accusatorum insumeret operam, and ch. 9. 1, above, quibus totam vitam Maternus insumere optat. It is not necessary to read 'in notitiam,' with Baehrens: *in* with the ablative denotes 'the sphere in which.'

Sed, after a negative clause, 'No'; cp. ἀλλά. They spend too little time on preparatory training: the 'rhetor' is prematurely called in.

quos rhetoras vocant: cp. 35. 2 istorum qui rhetores vocantur. So Crassus in de Or. i. § 52 ipsi magistri qui rhetorici vocantur: iii. § 54 horum qui nunc ita appellantur rhetorum.

quorum professio quando primum in hanc urbem introducta sit quamque nullam apud maiores nostros auctoritatem habuerit, statim dicturus *prius* referam necesse est animum ad eam disciplinam qua usos esse eos oratores accepimus, quorum infinitus labor et cotidiana meditatio et in omni genere studiorum assiduae exercitationes ipsorum etiam continentur libris. Notus est vobis utique Ciceronis liber, qui Brutus inscribitur, in cuius extrema parte (nam prior commemorationem veterum oratorum habet) sua initia, suos gradus, suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert: se apud Q. Mucium ius civile didicisse, apud Philonem

5. *sit quamque* codd., *est quam* Usener. 7. *dicturus* Gronovius, *de curiis* codd. *prius referam* Acidalius, Halm. 10. *exercitationes* corr. BE: *exercitationis* cett. codd. *vobis* Rhenanus, *nobis* codd. 14. *refert* B corr., *referre* cett. codd.

7. **dicturus.** The fact that this promise is not redeemed till 35. 2—not till after Messalla has made a fresh beginning of his speech, need not cause much difficulty. Such incongruities may be held to give even a greater air of reality to dramatic discourse. At the end of 32 Messalla 'pulls himself up,' as it were, more or less abruptly, and it is only on resuming his remarks that he remembers to refer to the promise made here.—This explanation renders superfluous all the laboured emendations of the critics (*non latius dicturus*, Nipperdey; *iam non persecuturus*, Michaelis; *est alienum decurrere*, Knaut; *securus statim*, Meiser and Baehrens) based on the belief that Messalla is mentioning the matter only to pass it by: it also negatives the view of those (Peter, Andresen, and others) who think that Messalla refers to the immediate sequel, in which, while proceeding to speak of the all-round character of the old training, he points at the same time, indirectly and by implication, to the low esteem in which the schools of rhetoric were held in former days. Usener and Baehrens even go the length of reading 'introducta st quam' for 'introducta sit quamque,' recognizing the fact that, at the most, the sequel can only be held to contain an answer to the 'quam . . . habuerit' clause: against them John rightly points out that, in that case, the usage of Tacitus would have led us to expect *cum* instead of *quando primum*.

The corruption of *dicturus* into the *decuriis* of the MSS. is supposed by Helmreich to point to a marginal gloss (de curis priorum oratorum) intended to indicate the subject of the following passage: cp. 30. 27, where C gives 'ornate quid orator et' for 'ornate et,' while in the rubric there is *Quid sit oratoris proprium* (*Quis orator* H. *De officio oratoris* B).

prius. Cp. Quint. viii. 3, 41 Ceterum dicturus quibus ornetur oratio, prius ea . . . attingam. John adds Hieron. Ep. 149, 3 de Pascha paulo latius aliquid dicturus prius ostendere volo, and holds that *prius* is an indispensable insertion as it indicates the purely temporal relation between *dicturus* and *referam*.

10. **continentur**, i. e. evidence of it may be found in their own writings, as Cic. Brut. lxxxix—xcii. For this use of 'contineri,' cp. Ann. i. 11, 15: Hist. v. 13, 8.

11. **utique**, 'of course': so 18, 21 Legistis utique . . . epistulas: 23. 6.

extrema parte: ch. 89 § 304 sq.

13. **gradus.** Cic. Brut. § 232 gradus tuos et quasi processus studendi studeo cognoscere.

14. **Q. Mucium.** The reference is to Q. Mucius Q. F. Scaevola, the Augur, as is evident from Brutus § 306: ego autem iuris civilis studio multum operae dabam Q. Scaevolae Q. f., &c.: cp. §§ 101, 212, Philipp. viii. § 31. This Scaevola was the friend and son-in-law of Laelius, and the father-in-law of the orator Crassus. He was born about 160 B.C.: went to Asia as praetor in 121: was consul 117: and died after 88. He is one of the interlocutors in the *de Oratore* (see Wilkins, Introd. p. 21 sq.), the *de Re Publica*, and the *de Amicitia*. The family

Academicum, apud Diodotum Stoicum omnes philosophiae partes penitus hausisse; neque iis doctoribus contentum quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat, Achaiam quoque et Asiam peragrasse, ut omnem omnium artium varietatem complecteretur. Itaque hercule in libris Ciceronis deprehendere licet, non geometriae, non musicae, non grammaticae, non denique ullius ingenuae artis scientiam ei defuisse. Ille dialecticae subtilitatem, ille moralis partis utilitatem, ille rerum motus causasque cognoverat. Ita est enim, optimi viri, ita: ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia; neque oratoris vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is

15. *Diodotum* C, *Diodorum* cett. codd. 20. *ingenuae artis* $EV_2CD\Delta H$, *artis ingenuae* AB. 25. *oratoris* codd., *orationis* Goelzer (cp. 26. 6), *oratoria* Müller. *sicut ceterarum* codd., *sicut scientia ceterarum* Knaut, *sicut ceterae res* Novak, *sicut ceterae artes*, *certarum rerum* Andresen.

to which he belonged had a hereditary talent for law (de Or. i. § 39); and it is perhaps the even higher reputation of his cousin the Pontifex (Q. Mucius P. F. Scaevola) as a lawyer that has led editors to understand the passage as referring to him. It was to the Pontifex (consul in 95: murdered in 82 by Damasippus in the vestibule of the Temple of Vesta) that Cicero betook himself on the death of the Augur (de Am. § 1); but though there are frequent references to him in the *Brutus*, this fact is not mentioned there.

Philonem. See the same passage of the Brutus, § 306; eodemque tempore (i.e. B.C. 88) cum princeps Academiae Philo cum Atheniensium optimatibus Mithridatico bello domo profugisset Romamque venisset, totum ei me tradidi, admirabili quodam ad philosophiam studio concitatus. Cp. Acad. i. 4, 13: Tusc. ii. 3, 9.

15. **Diodotum.** See Brutus § 309: and cp. Acad. ii. § 115: Tusc. v. 113: ad Fam. xiii. 16, 4. He was well versed in mathematics and music as well as in philosophy: N. D. i. 3, 6: ad Att. ii. 20, 6.

16. **hausisse.** Cp. id universum hauriret. 28. ad fin. For *penitus*, see on 2. 9.

contentum . . . peragrasse. So Brut. § 316 Quibus non contentus Rhodum veni: § 315 post a me Asia tota peragrata est.

17. **copia** = access to, 'facultas': cp. 34. 16. Tr. 'whose teaching he had been so fortunate as to enjoy at Rome.'

21. **dialecticae.** There is the same division in Cic. de Fin. i. § 49 una pars est naturae, disserendi altera, vivendi tertia: cp. Quint. xii. 2, 10 in tres divisa partes, naturalem, moralem, rationalem.

22. **moralis partis utilitatem,** 'the practical lessons of ethics.'

rerum, of the phenomena of the physical world.

23. **ex multa eruditione.** Cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 20. Ac mea quidem sententia nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque artium scientiam consecutus: etenim ex rerum cognitione efflorescat et redundet oportet oratio. So Quintilian says of Cicero (x. i, 109), Non enim 'pluvias,' ut ait Pindarus, 'aquas colligit, sed vivo gurgite exundat,' dono quodam providentiae genitus in quo totas vires suas eloquentia experiretur.

25. **vis et facultas,** his 'function and activity,' the whole range of his energies. John points out that *orator* and *res* correspond, as in 7. 11 *oratores* and *ars*. For *res* in the sense of *ars* cp. Cic. de Or. i. §§ 9, 19, 20, 128, and passim. There is no necessity for substituting *orationis*: the expression 'vis et facultas' is equally applicable to both the art and the artist. Compare Cic. de Or. i § 142 omnis oratoris vis ac facultas with Quint. xii. 1, 33 vis ac facultas dicendi.

26. **angustis et brevibus.** These synonyms recur Germ. vi. 3 angusto et brevi ferro: Plin. Ep. ii. 7. 4 vita eius brevis et angusta. The same point is

est orator qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit.

31. Hoc sibi illi veteres persuaserant, ad hoc efficiendum intellegebant opus esse, non ut in rhetorum scholis declamarent, nec ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis linguam modo et vocem exercerent, sed ut iis artibus pectus implerent in quibus de bonis ac malis, de honesto et turpi, de iusto et iniusto disputatur; haec enim est oratori subiecta ad

31. 1. *hoc* $EV_2C\Delta$, *hęc* BDH, *hec* A. *ad hoc efficiendum* $A\Delta C$, *ad haec efficienda* cett. codd., 4. *exercerent* EV_2H, *exercent* $ABC\Delta D$. *iis* $C\Delta$, *hiis* D, *his* $ABEV_2$, *in his* HVSp., *illis* Baehrens. 6. *enim est* ABH, *est enim* $EV_2C\Delta D$: see Introd. p. lxxxiv, note.

frequently urged by Cicero: cp. de Or. ii. § 5 neminem eloquentia ... sine omni sapientia florere unquam et praestare potuisse. Etenim ceterae fere artes se ipsae per se tuentur singulae: bene dicere autem ... non habet definitam aliquam regionem cuius terminis saepta teneatur.

26. **cluditur,** 'simplex pro composito,' Dr. § 25: cp. Introd. p. lvi.

is est orator, &c. Cic. de Or. i. 64 is orator erit mea sententia hoc tam gravi dignus nomine, qui, quaecumque res inciderit quae sit dictione explicanda, prudenter et composite et ornate et memoriter dicet, cum quadam actionis etiam dignitate.

27. **pulchre,** of grace or beauty of style, as Cic. Or. § 227 pulchre et oratorie dicere: cp. de Fin. § 63. This is much simpler than to take the word in a moral sense (καλῶς) and to refer it, with John, to Quintilian's maxim 'non posse oratorem esse nisi bonum, i. pr. § 9: cp. ii. 15. 1.

ornate, 31. 10: cp. 18. 10, 21. 11. The word does not so much indicate any one definite attribute of style, as that union of qualities which gives distinction and éclat: for Cicero's definition, see de Or. iii. § 53 (quoted on 18. 10).

ad persuadendum apte. So 'apposite ad persuadendum,' Cic. de Inv. i. § 6: 'ad persuadendum adcommodate,' de Or. i. § 138. See Quint. ii. 15.

28. **ad utilitatem temporum,** in accordance with what is expedient in the circumstances. Cp. Quint. x. 3, 15 quid res poscat... quod sit tempus: xi. 1, 46.

29. **cum voluptate audientium.** Ad Herenn. § 2 cum adsensione auditorum.

31. 2. **opus esse ... ut.** This construction, which occurs in Tacitus only here, is found in Plautus, Truc. v. 1, 11 opus nutrici ... utrem ut habeat veteris vini: ib. ii. 3, 7 mihi ... opus est ut lavem: ii. 6, 19 nunc tibi opust aegram ut te adsimules: Poen. v. 7, 20 hic opus est aliquot ut maneas dies.

3. **fictis ... controversiis.** Cic. de Or. i. § 149 equidem probo ista ... ut causa aliqua posita consimili causarum earum quae in forum deferuntur, dicat quam maxime ad veritatem adcommodate. Sed plerique in hoc vocem modo, neque eam scienter, et vires exercent suas et linguae celeritatem incitant verborumque frequentia delectantur. Quint. x. 2, 12 quo fit ut minus sanguinis ac virium declamationes habeant quam orationes, quod in illis vera in his adsimilata materia est: ib. 5 § 17.

veritatem, 'real life.'

4. **pectus,** the mind: cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 4, 90 quamvis memori referas mihi pectore cuncta. So again Cic. de Or. iii. § 121 non enim solum acuenda nobis neque procudenda lingua, sed onerandum complendumque pectus maximarum rerum et plurimarum suavitate, copia, veritate.

5. **bonis ... malis.** The enumeration shows that the moral aspect is prominent, as Ann. vi. 36, 13 (quis neque boni intellectus neque mali cura) and elsewhere. John, on the other hand, understands *material* good and evil,—what we meet with in practical life: Cic. de Or. i. § 42 nihil te de bonis rebus in vita nihil de malis didicisse, Or. § 118.

6. **subiecta ad dicendum materia,** the subject matter of oratory, ἡ ὑποκειμένη ὕλη. So Cic. de Or. ii. § 116 ad probandum autem duplex est oratori subiecta materies: ib. 1. § 201, iii. § 54. Cp. uberem ad dicendum materiam 37. 28.

dicendum materia. Nam in iudiciis fere de aequitate, in deliberationibus *de utilitate, in laudationibus* de honestate disserimus, ita *tamen* ut plerumque haec ipsa in vicem misceantur: de quibus copiose et varie et ornate nemo dicere potest nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum et *habet* intellectum eorum quae nec in virtutibus nec in vitiis numerantur. Ex his fontibus etiam illa profluunt, ut facilius iram iudicis vel instiget vel leniat qui scit quid ira, et promptius ad miserationem impellat qui scit quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus concitetur. In his artibus exercitationibusque versatus orator, sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos sive apud

8. *de utilitate, in laudationibus* add. Ursinus. 9. *tamen* add. Acidalius. *haec ipsa* $EV_2C\Delta DH$, *haec* AB. 12. *habet* add. Schopen (after *intellectum*), Halm as above. *nec . . . nec* AB, *neque . . . . neque* CEV_2, *nec . . . . neque* HSp. (this last may be right; cp. 29. 6 and G. and G. p. 922). *in* (before *vitiis*) om. B. 14. *ira et* F. Jacob, *irae* codd. 15. *ad* $EV_2C\Delta$, *et* ABDH. 17. *versatur* codd.

7. **iudiciis . . . deliberationibus . . . laudationibus.** The reference is here to the three *genera causarum*: (1) the genus iudiciale (*δικανικόν*), (2) the genus deliberativum sive suasorium (*συμβουλευτικόν*), and (3) the genus demonstrativum (*ἐπιδεικτικόν*) or laudativum (*ἐγκωμιαστικόν*). See Cope, Arist. Rhet. Introd. 118–123, and the notes on 13. § 1: Cic. de Inv. i. §§ 7, 8, 12; ii. §§ 12, 13: Orat. Part. §§ 10–14, 69–138: de Orat. 1. § 141. A consideration of these passages (as well as a reference to the words de bonis ac malis—de honesto et turpi—de iusto et iniusto) will show the necessity of some such addition to the text as that made by Ursinus: cp. especially Cic. de Inv. ii. § 13 In iudiciis quid aequum sit quaeritur, in demonstrationibus quid honestum, in deliberationibus, ut nos arbitramur, quid honestum sit et quid utile. But looking to the two *main* divisions of 'deliberative' and 'forensic' eloquence (*iudicia, deliberationes*, Cic. de Or. i. § 141, cp. on 34. 15 below) it may be questioned whether the amended text ought not to run 'in iudiciis fere de aequitate, in deliberationibus de utilitate et de honestate disserimus': this would render less necessary the *tamen* supplied immemediately below, which is found in no MS.

9. **ita tamen ut.** So 16. 22; 38. 7.

plerumque: see on 6. 8.

in vicem misceantur. Cp. Agr. xxxviii. 5 Britanni . . . miscere in vicem consilia . . . dein separare. For the fact cp. Quint. iii. 4, 16 stant enim quodam modo mutuis auxiliis omnia. Nam in laude iustitia utilitasque tractatur et in consiliis honestas, et raro iudicialem inveneris causam in cuius parte non aliquid eorum quae supra diximus reperiatur.

10. **nisi qui cognovit.** Cic. de Or. i. § 53 Quae nisi qui naturas hominum vimque omnem humanitatis causasque eas quibus mentes aut incitantur aut reflectuntur penitus perspexerit, dicendo quod volet perficere non poterit. For *nisi qui* cp. 37. 22: Quint. x. 7, 12.

12. **habet intellectum.** Sen. de Ben. iii. 17, 2 intellectum optimae rei . . . amisit: cp. on 19, 6 above. Helmreich cites the Ciceronian phrase 'intelligentiam habere': cp. also Ann. vi. 36, 13 quis neque boni intellectus neque mali cura.—Following John, who takes *intellectum* as = vim, Andresen now omits *habet*, and joins *intellectum* with *cognovit*, comparing *ad respectum* and *referas* 16. 26. But this is hard, and the compendium for *habet* may easily have dropped out.

13. **etiam illa**, i.e. as well as the faculty of speaking 'copiose et varie et ornate.'

facilius. Cp. on the other hand Antonius arguing against Crassus that the study of philosophy is not indispensable for the orator: de Or. i. § 220.

17. **cupidos**, 'biassed,' 'prejudiced' persons; partisans. The word might also mean 'well-disposed,' though before such an audience the orator would be less dependent on the rules of his art.

invidentes sive apud tristes sive apud timentes dicendum habuerit, tenebit venas animorum, et prout cuiusque natura postulabit adhibebit manum et temperabit orationem, parato omni instrumento et ad omnem usum reposito. Sunt apud quos adstrictum et collectum et singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus plus fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse operam dialecticae proficiet. Alios fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta sensibus oratio magis delectat: ad hos permovendos mutuabimur a Peripateticis aptos et in omnem disputationem paratos iam

19. *postulabit* ABDH, *postulaverit* EV_2CΔ (cp. explicabit 16. 2). 20. *orationem* corr. BDCH, *omnem orationem* AB. 23. *fidei* Put., *fidem* codd. 25. *permovendos* EV_2CΔD, *promovendos* (*-edos*) ABH, *commovendos* D. 26. *apertos* C.

18. **tristes**, 'sullen,' 'morose.'

dicendum habuerit. See on 8. 11.

19. **tenebit venas animorum**: he will be able to 'put his finger on the pulse' of his audience. Cp. Cic. de Or. § 223 teneat oportet venas cuiusque generis, aetatis, ordinis. The orator is compared to a physician (cp. 41. 8): he must get into touch with his audience, and then proceed to treat the case before him (adhibebit manum), carefully selecting the appropriate tone for what he has to say (temperabit orationem), just as doctors regulate the proportions of a dose of medicine.—For the importance of studying the humours of the bench, cp. Quint. x. 3, 15 'qui iudicis animus intuiti': and xii. 10, 56 'nam id quoque plurimum refert, quo modo audire iudex velit, atque eius vultus saepe ipse rector est dicentis.'

cuiusque. The plural could not be used: for the singular cp. *auditor* (for *auditores*) 32. 7.—Helmreich supports **postulabit** by reference to Cic. Or. § 125 and Quint. v. 12, 14.

20. **instrumento,** 'stock-in-trade': Hor. Sat. i. 3, 131.

21. **omnem usum,** 'any and every purpose.'

Sunt apud quos, with indic., as Agr. xxviii. 14 fuere quos illustravit.

adstrictum. So, alongside of *contractum* (as here of *collectum*) Brut. § 120 Nam ut Stoicorum astrictior est oratio aliquantoque contractior quam aures populi requirunt, sic illorum liberior et latior quam patitur consuetudo iudiciorum et fori: ib. § 309 dialectica . . . quasi contracta et astricta eloquentia putanda est, ib. § 114. Cp. note on 25. 17 above. Tr. 'terse, concise, in which the individual arguments are made to yield an immediate conclusion,' i. e. the separate proofs are rapidly summarized, or generalized.

23. **meretur** = consequitur, adipiscitur: so Quint. x. 1, §§ 94, 116. Cp. Ann. xv. 6, 7 meritae tot per annos gloriae: Germ. xiv. 5 vulnera mereri: Agr. iv. 5 iram Gaii Caesaris meritus, and often. Cp. 9. 26.

dialecticae. The Stoic logic was renowned for its acuteness: Quint. x. 1, 84, with the notes. Cp. Cic. Top. 2. 6 iudicandi enim vias diligenter persecuti sunt (Stoici) ea scientia quam διαλεκτικὴν appellant: inveniendi artem, quae τοπική dicitur . . . totam reliquerunt.

24. **fusa et aequalis.** In the passage quoted above from the Brutus the antithesis is *liberior et latior*: here it is taken from the flow of water, a frequent source of metaphor in Latin: cp. *ducta ex.* Cic. de Or. ii. § 64 genus orationis fusum atque tractum et cum lenitate quadam aequabiliter profluens: ib. § 159: Or. § 21, § 66: Quint. ii. 3, 5 constituta an latius fusa oratio. For *aequalis* (= aequabiliter fluens) cp. Quint. iii. 8, 60 id quoque aequalius erit, nec tumultuosius atque turbidius. In this sense *aequabilis* is certainly more common: but it is not necessary, with Andresen and Wolff, to substitute it in the text for *aequalis.*

communibus . . . sensibus, the feelings and instincts implanted by nature in all rational beings. Cp. Cic. de Or. iii. § 195 quod ea in communibus infixa sensibus nec earum rerum quemquam funditus natura voluit esse expertem: pro Cluent. § 15. Also of ordinary tact: molestus communi sensu plane caret. Hor. Sat. i. 3, 66.

26. **Peripateticis.** Aristotle and

locos. Dabunt Academici pugnacitatem, Plato altitudinem, Xenophon iucunditatem; ne Epicuri quidem et Metrodori honestas quasdam exclamationes adsumere iisque, prout res poscit, uti alienum erit oratori. Neque enim sapientem in-

30. *poscet* Pithoeus. *informamus Stoicorum sed* Haupt.

Theophrastus were the first systematic writers on Rhetoric. The latter wrote a work περὶ λέξεως: in all, ten treatises on Rhetoric are ascribed to him by Diogenes Laertius (v. 46–50). For the contrast between the more popular style of the Peripatetics and the terse precision of the Stoics, John compares (in addition to Brut. § 120, quoted above) Or. § 117: de Or. ii. § 159; iii. § 66.

in omnem disputationem. Cp. on 24. 9. So Cic. de Or. i. §§ 158, 263; ii. § 215; iii. §§ 80, 107: Quint. xii. 2, 25.

27. **locos,** 'places' where arguments are to be sought, 'general heads,' 'topics.' These are not the *loci communes* (see on 19. 15) but the *loci argumentorum,*—the τόποι of the Greek rhetoricians: de Or. ii. § 130 capita ea unde omnis ad omnem et causam et orationem disputatio ducitur; ib. § 162 argumentorum sedes et quasi domicilia; § 166 argumentorum sedes ac loci: Or. § 46 Aristoteles... locos—sic enim appellat—quasi argumentorum notas tradidit, unde omnis traheretur oratio: Top. § 8 locos nosse debemus; sic enim appellatae sunt ab Aristotele hae quasi sedes e quibus argumenta promuntur. In de Or. ii. § 147 these *loci* are compared to the 'haunts of game,' and in § 174 to 'veins or mines where gold may be looked for': cp. de Fin. iv. § 10 where they are said to resemble *thesauri,* or stores from which arguments may be drawn as occasion requires.

pugnacitatem. Cic. Acad. ii. § 7 contra omnes dicere quae videntur solemus: de Or. i. § 84 hic enim mos erat patrius Academiae adversari semper omnibus in disputando: ib. § 43 Academia quae quidquid dixisses id te ipsum negare cogeret. So of Arcesilas, who is sometimes regarded as the founder of the New Academy, de Or. iii. § 67 quem ferunt... primum instituisse . . . non quid ipse sentiret ostendere, sed contra id quod quisque se sentire dixisset disputare: similarly Carneades, ib. § 80. Quint. xii. 2, 25.

Plato altitudinem. For the 'sublimity' of Plato, cp. Quint. x. 1, 81 Multum enim supra prosam orationem et quam pedestrem Graeci vocant surgit, ut mihi non hominis ingenio sed quodam Delphici videatur oraculo dei instinctus: Plin. i. 10, 5 Platonicam illam sublimitatem.

28. **iucunditatem.** Quint. x. i, 82 Quid ego commemorem Xenophontis illam iucunditatem inadfectatam, sed quam nulla consequi adfectatio possit? ib. § 33. Cp. Diog. Laert. ii. § 75 ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Ἀττικὴ Μοῦσα γλυκύτητι τῆς ἑρμηνείας.

ne Epicuri quidem. For the unfitness of the Epicurean school as a training for the orator, cp. Quint. xii. 2, 24 Nam in primis nos Epicurus a se ipse dimittit, qui fugere omnem disciplinam navigatione quam velocissima iubet. So Cic. Brut. § 131 perfectus Epicureus evaserat, minime aptum ad dicendum genus: de Or. iii. § 63 seq.: Quint. xii. 2, 24: Sen. Ep. xxxiii. 2.

Metrodorus was the most distinguished of the followers of Epicurus: Cic. de Fin. § 92 paene alter Epicurus. Sen. Ep. xiv. 17 Epicuri est aut Metrodori aut alicuius ex illa officina.

29. **honestas exclamationes,** 'moral utterances.' The reference is to the pithy and pregnant *dicta* in which the Epicureans gave expression to their moral teaching, and which are so often utilized by Seneca, especially in the earlier books of his letters, as e. g. above. Cp. Cic. de N. D. i. § 85 selectae brevesque sententiae, quas appellant Epicurei κυρίας δόξας: de Fin. ii. § 88–9; § 94: Tusc. v. § 27. *Exclamatio* has another place in rhetoric, as either 'admirationis' (ἐκφώνησις) or 'conquestionis' (σχετλιασμός): de Or. iii. § 207, Or. § 136, where Sandys instances the ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί of Demosthenes, and Cicero's 'o tempora! o mores!'

30. **sapientem,** 'a sage,' like the 'Wise Man' of the Stoics, who was perfect in everything, but was at the same time bound down to his system in a way quite impossible for the orator, Quint. xii. 2, 26. So Mnesarchus, e. g., maintained 'oratorem, nisi qui sapiens esset, esse neminem.'

informamus, 'shape,' 'depict,' 'delineate,' a figure derived from the plastic art. Cic. Or. § 7: de Or. i. § 264.

formamus neque Stoicorum comitem, sed eum qui quasdam artes haurire, omnes libare debet. Ideoque et iuris civilis scientiam veteres oratores comprehendebant, et grammatica musica geometria imbuebantur. Incidunt enim causae, plurimae quidem ac paene omnes, quibus iuris notitia desideratur, pleraeque autem in quibus haec quoque scientia requiritur.

32. Nec quisquam respondeat sufficere ut ad tempus simplex

31. *comitem* Vahlen, Halm: *citem* A, *arte* B, *civitatem* HDCV_2 and b in marg. Qy. *clientem?* or *divitem?* (*antistitem* Müller, *civem* Doederlein, *artificem* Heller.): *ne quem Stoicorum incitem* H. Röhl. 32. *haurire* Lipsius, *audire* codd. *libare* Bekker, *liberaliter* codd., *libare leviter* Sillig, *libare literas* Thomas. *civilis* om. B. 33. *grammatice musice et geometrie* (*-ice* DCH and corr. AB) ABCD, em. Rhenanus. *et* del. Bekker, Wesenberg. 34. [*incidunt . . . requiritur*] Andresen. 35. *quibus* codd., *in quibus*, Meiser and edd. *pleraeque* Rhenanus, *plerumque* codd. (*plerique* HVSp.). 36. *haec quoque* EV_2CΔDH, *haec* AB (*harum quoque* Schurzfleisch, *illa quoque* Novak).
32. 1. *sufficeret* codd. (except E).

31. **Stoicorum comitem**, a 'hanger-on of the Stoics.' For the special unfitness of their system for oratorical purposes, see Quint. x. 1, 84 with the note. *Comitem* is rightly defended by most editors: the meaning is, our aim is not to delineate the philosophic specialist (sapientem), and certainly not the adherent of the school specially given over to dialectic subtleties. Cp. Plin. N. H. pr. § 22 qui (Tullius) de republica Platonis se comitem profitetur.—In support of his conjecture *artificem*, Heller quotes Ann. xii. 66 artifex talium . . . Locusta: Sall. Iug. 35 homines talis negotii artifices. But though the word is suitable on palaeographical grounds, these passages are hardly apposite. To the other conjectures given above I may add *clientem* (cp. 41. 4): or *divitem*, with reference to the well-known Stoic paradox 'solum sapientem esse divitem.' Cp. Hor. Sat. i. 3, 124 si dives qui sapiens est, with Prof. Wilkins's note ad loc.

32. **haurire . . . libare.** An early formula for 'something of everything, and everything of something.' This was Cicero's view: ut . . . sit boni oratoris multa . . . legendo percucurrisse neque ea ut sua possedisse sed ut aliena libasse, de Or. i. § 218.

Ideoque, &c. It was their knowledge of practical requirements (incidunt enim, &c.,) that induced them to follow out this view. So of Cicero 30. 14 'se apud Q. Mucium,' &c.

34. **imbuebantur**: see on 19. 21.

35. **pleraeque** = multae. See on 2. 10.

36. **haec quoque scientia**, i.e. a knowledge of criticism, music, and geometry, as well as of law. The form of the sentence shows that *quoque* is indispensable. The writer might have said 'incidunt enim causae in quibus haec scientia requiritur,' and the reference of *haec* to the three last-named arts would have been more obvious. But he chose to vary the sentence by inserting the paratactic but logically subordinate clause 'plurimae quidem . . . desideratur,' with which 'incidunt' is less appropriate: *quoque* is then needed for emphasis. John points out also the appropriateness of *quibus . . . desideratur*, of the indispensable, as against *in quibus . . . requiritur* of what is less frequently called into play.—For *haec scientia* = harum artium scientia, cp. 'ei scientiae,' Cic. de Or. i. § 10 for 'eius artis scientiae" (mathematics): 'istam scientiam (of jurisprudence) ib. § 248: sine ea scientia quam dixi, Or. § 118.

32. 1. **sufficere ut.** This constr. avoids a second subordinate infinitive: Draeger (§ 142) compares Plin. Ep. ix. 21, 3 and (with *ne*) ix. 33, 11: with the infin. Germ. xxxii. 2.

ad tempus, 'for the occasion,' 'for the requirements of the moment': so Ann. i. 1, 2; Cic. de Or. i. § 69 ad certam causam tempusque.

simplex quiddam et uniforme. It is not enough, instead of going through a connected course of training in each department, to apply to experts, as occasion may require, for information on some concrete, special, and definite issue. In law, such specialists were the *pragmatici*, de Or. i. § 253: cp. ib. § 242,

quiddam et uniforme doceamur. Primum autem aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est possideat quis quae profert an mutuetur. Deinde ipsa multarum artium scientia etiam aliud agentes nos ornat, atque ubi minime credas eminet et excellit. Idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor, sed etiam populus intellegit, ac statim ita laude prosequitur ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnes eloquentiae numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse fateatur; quem non posse aliter

2. *autem* codd., *enim* Rhenanus, Halm, and edd. 9. *isse* C, *isse et* ABDH, *isset* E, *is sed* V_2, *ipse* Δ.

where Antonius says 'in eo autem iure quod ambigitur inter peritissimos non est difficile oratori eius partis quamcunque defendet auctorem aliquem invenire; a quo cum amentatas hastas acceperit, ipse eas oratoris lacertis viribusque torquebit.' The adjective *uniformis* occurs elsewhere only in late authors.

2. **Primum autem.** Peter, Wolff, and John support the MS. reading: other editors read *primum enim.* At first sight *autem* seems to connect badly with what goes before, though it may be used (like *sed* 18. 14) to contradict a negative assertion. If the previous statement had been positive instead of negative (At dixerit quispiam sufficere, &c.) it would have been quite in place: so in disposing of an objection, Livy v. 53, 2.

3. **longe** for multum (37. 16). There is a reminiscence of 'longe abesse.'

4. **multarum . . . excellit.** Cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 72 sic sentio neminem esse in oratorum numero habendum qui non sit omnibus eis artibus quae sunt libero dignae perpolitus: quibus ipsis si in dicendo non utimur, tamen apparet atque exstat utrum simus earum rudes an didicerimus: Quint. i. 10, 7. 'Multarum artium scientia' = 'a wide culture': 'ipsa' = in and for itself.

5. **aliud agentes.** The sequel shows that this cannot be taken to refer to friendly intercourse with men of culture, as Andresen understands it: the rendering 'even when we are not professionally engaged' will not suit the context. The reference is obviously to subjects which would not, at first sight, seem to lend themselves to cultured treatment: even the dry details of a technical subject may be lighted up by the manner of handling it. A many-sided culture is an ornament of the influence of which its possessor may be unconscious. John explains 'in the speeches and portions of speeches in which we are not consciously endeavouring (id agere, Cic. Tusc. i. § 46) to show the extent of our knowledge.' The nearest parallel is Quint. i. 11, 19: cp. also Cic. pro. Cluent. §§ 155, 179; pro Rosc. Am. § 60; Brut. § 233; de Or. iii. 51: Quint. x. 3, 25. So Agr. xliii. 3: Dial. 28. 27.

8. **studuisse**: 21. 30.

omnes . . . numeros: cp. on l. 17. In this sense, *numerus* (= pars) is very frequently found in conjunction with *omnis*: e. g. Quint. viii. pr. § 1 per omnes numeros penitus cognoscere. The root idea may be, as John suggests, parts of a whole that are designated by continuous numbers. There may also be a reference to the rhythmical movements through which a person under training is put: cp. Quint. x. 1, 4 Athleta qui omnes iam perdidicerit a praeceptore numeros, where see note. In Cicero, *numeri* is frequently used of that which is complete and perfect in all its parts: de N. D. ii. § 37 mundum . . . perfectum expletumque omnibus suis numeris et partibus: de Div. I. § 23 quod omnes habet in se numeros: de Off. iii. § 14: de Fin. iii. § 24. Cp. also Sen. Ep. 71 § 16 (veritas) habet numeros suos, plena est: 95, § 5: Juv. vi. 249.

9. **isse.** For this poetical and post-classical construction in which *per* is used after *ire* with an accusative of the extent over which thought, speech, or feeling travels, cp. Aen. i. 375: Quint. vii. 1, 64, and x. 5, 21 (per totas ire materias).

oratorem, emphatic, as in Cic. de Or. i. § 72, quoted above: cp. ib. § 20, ac mea quidem sententia nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus orator, nisi erit omnium rerum magnarum atque artium scientiam consecutus. See on *orator* 1. 4.

aliter . . . nisi eum. There is an

existere nec extitisse umquam confirmo nisi eum qui, tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exierit. Quod adeo neglegitur ab horum temporum disertis ut in actionibus eorum huius quoque cotidiani sermonis foeda ac pudenda vitia deprehendantur; ut ignorent leges, non teneant senatus consulta, ius *huius* civitatis ultro derideant, sapientiae vero studium et praecepta prudentium penitus reformident. In paucissimos sensus et angustas sententias detrudunt eloquentiam velut expulsam regno suo, ut quae olim omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine apparatu, sine honore, paene

13. *huius* Halm, *ius* (or *vis*) codd., *ipsius* Michaelis (or rather *ipsa*), *vilis* Baehrens. 14. *non* EV$_2$HCΔD, *nec* AB. 15. *ius huius civitatis* is my conj., *ius civitatis* codd., *ius suae civitatis* Gudeman, *ius civile autem* Baehrens. 17. *detrudunt* D, *detrudant* ABCH.

undoubted harshness about this construction, though it is not necessary to read *alium*. Novak would reject *aliter*, comparing Ann. vi. 28.

13. **disertis**. See on 1. 5 horum autem temporum diserti.

huius cotidiani sermonis: our everyday conversation. Cp. on 'his propriis . . . vitiis,' 28. 9. So Cic. de Or. i. § 108 huius forensis nostrae dictionis. For *quoque* in the sense of *etiam*, see on 6. 19.

15. **senatus consulta.** Cp. Cic. Top. § 5 ius civile . . . in legibus, senatus consultis, rebus iudicatis consistat. Gaius 1, § 4 senatus consultum legis vicem obtinet.

ius huius civitatis. The insertion of *huius* is a very simple emendation: by itself *ius civitatis* could hardly stand as equivalent to *ius civile* (30. 14: 31. 32). The phrase must denote (as *ius civile* generally does) either the 'laws of the state' as distinct from 'ius naturale' or 'ius gentium,' or that portion of the Roman law which was the result of old tradition, with special reference to the XII Tables, as distinguished from the newer or 'equity' portion. In view of the well-known sub-division of the *ius civile*, in this narrower sense, into *lex* and *mos*, it is probable that here—*leges* having already been mentioned—the reference is specially to traditional usage, prescriptive law. In former days the importance of a knowledge of this branch had to be insisted on, 'cuius scientia neglecta ab oratoribus plerisque nobis ad dicendum necessaria videtur,' Cic. Part. Orat. § 100: cp. the discourse of Crassus; de Or. i. §§ 166–184. Now men not only neglect it but scoff at it: Quint. xii. 3. For the iuxtaposition of 'leges' and 'ius civile,' cp. de Or. i. § 18 neque legum ac iuris civilis scientia neglegenda est, Or. § 120.

ultro, as 9. 16 rogare ultro: 5. 23 ultro feras.

16. **praecepta prudentium**, 'maxims of moral wisdom.' This is better than to take the phrase, with many editors, of specialists in general.

penitus 'wholly,' as Germ. xxxiii. 3: Ann. xii. 39, 10.

17. **sensus . . . sententias**, 'a few common-places and cramped epigrams': cp. 20. 16 sive sensus aliquis arguta et brevi sententia effulsit. The meaning of 'angustae sententiae' may be well illustrated by Quint. x. 1, 130 (in reference to the style of Seneca) 'si rerum pondera minutissimis sententiis non fregisset.' Cp. Sen. Ep. 100, 5 sensus honestos et magnificos habes, non coactos in sententiam sed latius dictos: ib. 94, 27; 114, 1.

detrudunt. Cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 46 oratorem . . . excludi ab omni doctrina rerumque maiorum scientia ac tantum in iudicia et contiunculas tamquam in aliquod pistrinum detrudi et compingi videbam.

19. **pectora implebat**: see on 31. 4. *Comitatu* (sc. reliquarum artium) is the same ablative as *iis artibus* in the passage referred to.

20. **circumcisa et amputata**: Plin. Ep. i. 20, 9 amputata oratio et abscisa. This combination is frequent also in

dixerim sine ingenuitate, quasi una ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur. Ergo hanc primam et praecipuam causam arbitror cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus. Si testes desiderantur, quos potiores nominabo quam apud Graecos Demosthenem, quem studiosissimum Platonis auditorem fuisse memoriae proditum est? Et Cicero his, ut opinor, verbis refert, quidquid in eloquentia effecerit, id se non rhetorum *officinis*, sed Academiae spatiis consecutum. Sunt aliae causae, magnae et graves, quas a vobis aperiri aequum est, quoniam quidem ego iam meum munus explevi, et quod mihi in consuetudine est, satis multos offendi, quos, si forte haec audierint, certum habeo dicturos

22. *Ergo* $EV_2HC\Delta D$, *ego* AB. *arbitror cur* Put., *arbitratur* (*-tus*) ABH, *arbitror* DC. 23. *in tantum* most codd., *tantum* HV and edd. 27. *non in rhetorum* Acidalius. *officinis* suppl. Haase (Cic. Or. § 12). 29. *a vobis* b Rhenanus, *vobis* codd. 31. *quos* Pithoeus (and D), *quod* codd.

Cicero: de Fin. i. § 44 amputata circumcisaque inanitate omni et errore: Acad. ii. § 138 circumcidit et amputat multitudinem: de Or. i. § 65 licet huic quantum cuique videbitur circumcidat atque amputet ('trim off and lop away'): de Fin. v. § 39 ars agricolarum quae circumcidat, amputet. For the figure, taken from the process of pruning, cp. on *pressus* 18. 20.

sine apparatu, sine honore, 'shorn of all her state, all her adornment,' like a fallen queen.

paene dixerim: for this aoristic perfect, see Dr. § 28 b.

21. **ingenuitate,** 'the condition of an *ingenuus* (Ann. xiii. 27, 17): tr. 'independence,' 'liberal associations.' Cp Cic. de Or. i. § 236 istam iuris scientiam eloquentiae tamquam ancillulam pedisequamque adiunxisti.

sordidissimis artificiis. 'Sordidus' is specially used of a money-making handicraft: Ann. xi. 5, 5. The opposite would be 'artes elegantes et ingenuae,' as Cic. de Fin. iii. § 4. Andresen cites Sen. Ep. 108, 36 qui philosophiam velut aliquod artificium venale didicerunt. The feminine form *una* shows the influence of the personification of 'eloquentia' in the speaker's mind.

22. **primam . . . praecipuam,** as at Ann. vi. 4, 3. Cp. Quint. ii. 15, 1.

23. **in tantum** = tantum: Germ. xlv. 31 in tantum a libertate degenerant. So frequently *in quantum* 2. 13; 41. 19: Ann. xiii. 54, 5; ib. xiv. 47, 2.

26. **memoriae proditum est.** Cp. Cic. Or. § 15 (de Demosthene . . . cuius ex epistulis intellegi licet quam frequens fuerit Platonis auditor), where Dr. Sandys shows that the tradition may be traced as far back as an anonymous writer quoted by Hermippus (at the end of the third century B.C.): see Plut. Dem. ch. v, and cp. Diog. Laert. iii. 46. So Cic. Brut. § 121 lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam Demosthenes dicitur: Quintil. xii. 2, 22; 10, 24: Aul. Gell. iii. 13. The tradition may however be considered doubtful.

Et Cicero for et (apud nos) Ciceronem, qui his, ut opinor, verbis, &c. The reference is to Or. § 12 fateor me oratorem, si modo sim aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis sed ex Academiae spatiis extitisse; illa enim sunt curricula multiplicium variorumque sermonum in quibus Platonis primum sunt impressa vestigia. Cp. Quint. xii. 2, 23, where *scholis* is used instead of *officinis* ('mechanical workshops,' as Brut. § 32). So in the de Div. ii. § 4 Cicero speaks of his rhetorical works as bordering on philosophy: cp. Quint. x. 1, 91 Philosophorum ex quibus plurimum se traxisse eloquentiae M. Tullius confitetur, &c.

29. **quoniam quidem.** This is not an instance of anastrophe for *ego quidem* (Andresen), *quidem* being frequently used after *quoniam* (cp. quando quidem) in Cicero: e. g. quoniam quidem . . . fui inimicus, Piso § 63: Rosc. Amer. § 31: quoniam quidem . . . sententiam dicere vetabatur, pro Domo § 69.

me, dum iuris et philosophiae scientiam tamquam oratori necessariam laudo, ineptiis meis plausisse.'

33. Et Maternus 'Mihi quidem' inquit 'susceptum a te munus adeo peregisse nondum videris, ut incohasse tantum et velut vestigia ac lineamenta quaedam ostendisse videaris. Nam quibus *artibus* instrui veteres oratores soliti sint dixisti, differentiamque nostrae desidiae et inscientiae adversus acerrima et fecundissima eorum studia demonstrasti: cetera exspecto, ut quem ad modum ex te didici quid aut illi scierint aut nos nesciamus, ita hoc quoque cognoscam, quibus exercitationibus iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri confirmare et alere ingenia sua soliti sint. Neque enim tantum arte et scientia, sed longe magis facultate et *usu* eloquentiam contineri, nec tu puto abnues et hi significare vultu videntur.'

Deinde cum Aper quoque et Secundus idem adnuissent, Messalla quasi rursus incipiens: 'Quoniam initia et semina veteris eloquentiae satis demonstrasse videor, docendo quibus artibus antiqui oratores institui erudirique soliti sint, persequar nunc

33. 2. *incohasse* most codd., *inchoasse* BDE. 4. *artibus* add. Schopen. 5. *inscientiae* Rhenanus, *scientiae* codd. 7. *quid* ABD, *quod* $EV_2C\Delta H$. *scierint* Schurzfleisch, *scirent* codd. 8. *ingressuri* $ABEV_2$, *ingressi* DHV, *ingraessi* $C\Delta$. 10. *tantum* Ritter, *solum* Dronke, *dum* codd. *scientia* $C\Delta D$, *inscientia* $ABEV_2H$. *usu* add. Tyrwhitt. 11. *hi* H, *ii* cett. codd. 13. *et* $ABCD\Delta H$, om. EV_2. 14. *videor* corr. B, *videtur* ADCH. 15. *persequar* corr. B and H: *persequor* ADC.

32. **dum,** with the indic. in indirect speech, as often in the historical writings of Tacitus: Dr. § 168. Tr. 'I have only been eulogising ... in order to cry-up my own little weaknesses.'

33. **ineptiis meis plausisse,** lit. 'I have been applauding my own want of taste.' Cp. Cic. de Or. i. § 111 ne has meas ineptias efferatis: and for *ineptiae* as 'tasteless fancies,' ib. ii. § 18. The study of law and philosophy would be considered *ineptiae* by the speakers whom Messalla is criticizing, and who had a 'thorough horror' (*penitus reformident,* above) of such subjects.

33. 2. **videris ... videaris.** See on 10. 24.

5. **adversus,** 'in contrast with,' 'as compared with': so Ann. xii. 15, 12; xv. 19, 5: Livy vii. 32, 8.

6. **cetera exspecto, ut:** 'I wait for the sequel, viz. that,' &c. Cp. 26. 23.

8. **forum ingressuri** = qui foro parabantur, 34. 1. So Quint. vii. 2, 54 ituris in forum: ii. 8, 8 qui foro destinabitur. For *et* cp. 20. 12 iuvenes et in ... incude positi.

9. **alere ingenia:** cp. on 14. 16.

10. **facultate et usu,** of the practical application of theoretical knowledge.

11. **significare vultu:** supply *se non abnuere* = se idem sentire.

13. **quasi rursus incipiens.** Cp. Cic. Brut. § 201 et ego tamquam de integro ordiens.

initia et semina, 'first-beginnings and germs': Quint. ii. 20, 6 initia quaedam ac semina: Cic. Tusc. v. 69 indagatio initiorum et tamquam seminum.

14. **artibus,** 'branches of knowledge.' Cp. Quint. i. 3, 16 quibus instituendus sit artibus qui sic formabitur ut fieri possit orator. In contradistinction to these, 'exercitationes' are the exercises by which speakers were prepared for the practice of their profession.

exercitationes eorum. Quamquam ipsis artibus inest exercitatio, nec quisquam percipere tot tam varias aut reconditas res potest, nisi ut scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati usus eloquentiae accedat. Per quae colligitur eandem esse rationem et percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi quae perceperis. Sed si cui obscuriora haec videntur isque scientiam ab exercitatione separat, illud certe concedet, instructum et plenum his artibus animum longe paratiorem ad eas exercitationes venturum quae propriae esse oratorum videntur.

17. *tam varias aut reconditas* John, *tam rec. aut var.* Baehrens: *aut rec. tam* (aut) *varias* ACDHV$_2$, *aut rec. tam var.* B (cp. the transposition of *utrosque*, 2. 6): *tam* (Muretus) *rec. tamque v.* Halm (*ac tam* Heumann), *tot, tam rec., tam v.* Müller 18. [*ut*] Acidalius, *nisi si* Novak. *usus* Acidalius, *vis* or *ius* codd. 19. [*eloquentiae*] Sauppe, Novak. 20. *perceperis* HDC, *percipis* AB. 22. *illud* EV$_2$Cb, *istud* AB, *id* HD. 23. *paratiorem* Lipsius, *pate* A, *parate* EDΔ, *paratū* BH, *aperte* C. 24. *esse oratorum* Agricola, *et ornaturum* ABDV$_2$, *exornaturum* E, *et ornatorum* CΔ, *circa oratoriam* HV Put. (*circa oratorium* b in marg.)

16. **exercitationes eorum,** 'their practical exercises,' drill.

exercitatio. Theory involves and requires 'practice': cp. 31. 16 in his artibus exercitationibusque versatus orator, &c. The opposition between theory and practice runs through the whole passage: cp. *quibus artibus . . . exercitationes* above, and *scientiam . . . exercitatione* below. The former implies the latter: no one can perfect himself in theory without touching on practice: the rationale of both is the same. Even those, the writer adds, who draw a rigid line between the two must admit that theory is, for the orator, the best preparation for practice.

17. **reconditas,** 'abstruse.' Cic. Brut. § 44: de Or. i. 8. In support of the reading adopted in the text, John quotes Cic. Tusc. v. 72 tot tam variisque virtutibus: pro Sest. 46 causas tot tamque varias.

18. **nisi ut** = nisi ita ut, ut non. This is the only instance of this use in Tacitus: other examples of the collocation are all like Agr. xv. 3 nihil profici patientia nisi ut, &c. Cp. however Quint. v. 10, 57 nunquam itaque tolletur a specie genus nisi ut omnes species . . . removeantur: Plin. Ep. ii. 11, 16 neque enim iam inchoari poterat actio nisi ut noctis interventu scinderetur.

meditatio, μελέτη, 14. 5. The learner must not depend on memory alone: he must make a practice of rehearsing what he knows in well-considered language—not as yet, of course, for public delivery: Cic. de Or. i. § 147 qui ingrediuntur in stadium, quique ea quae agenda sunt in foro tamquam in acie, possunt etiam nunc exercitatione quasi ludicra praediscere ac meditari, ib. §§ 136, 260. *Meditatio* is 'the whole intellectual activity expended on a literary or rhetorical production (cp. Ann. iv. 61, 5), but especially practical rehearsal and exercitation,' John: cp. 16. 4, 30. 9. Its aim and end is 'skill in' or 'capacity for' public-speaking (*facultas*), the faculty of applying what has been learned: and that only needs to find a sphere. For *meditatio . . . usus* cp. Georg. i. 133 'ut varias usus meditando extunderet artes.'

usus, for the MS. *vis*, which would be out of place here in speaking of theoretical training: for the confusion see crit. note on Quint. x. 1, 83. *Usus* here denotes experience and practice in eloquence (Quint. ii. 15, 23, τριβή: exercitatio dicendi, Cicero) rather than the employment of eloquence, as 12. 10, cp. 41. 9. Cp. facultate et usu, l. 10 above. *Eloquentiae* has been suspected as a gloss.

19. **rationem,** 'method.' For its use with the gerund, see on Quint. x. 1, 4: 2, § 3. So far, the processes are identical: alike in the sphere of knowledge ('artes') and in that of 'practice' (whether in regard to 'exercitationes' or real speeches) the way lies through *meditatio, facultas,* and *usus*. The science and the art are one.

23. **paratiorem . . . venturum.** Cic. Brut. § 263 has ille tenens et paratus ad causas veniens.

24. **videntur,** 'are held to be.'

34. Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat. Hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus adsuescebat, ita ut altercationes quoque exciperet et iurgiis interesset utque sic dixerim, pugnare in proelio disceret. Magnus ex hoc usus, multum constantiae, plurimum iudicii iuvenibus statim contingebat, in media luce studentibus atque inter ipsa discrimina, ubi nemo impune stulte aliquid aut contrarie dicit, quo minus et iudex respuat et adver-

34. 2. *parabatur* codd., *praeparabatur* Ritter, Novak. 7. *exciperet . . . interesset* Bekker, *excipere . . . interesse* codd. 8. *magnus* corr. B, *magnos* ADCHV$_2$.

34. 2. imbutus, 'trained,' cp. Cic. de Off. i. § 118 parentium praeceptis imbuti. The abl. *disciplina* is rather different from *eloquentia*, line 13 below: cp. *eruditione* 2. 14, and *elementis* 19. 20 (where see note). In order to emphasize this, Gerber and Greef take *imbutus* here as used absolutely (sc. iure et eloquentia), comparing Ann. iii. 59, 12 sic imbui rectorem generis humani, id primum e paternis consiliis discere.

3. **deducebatur.** For this use of introducing a youth to a master or guardian, cp. pro Cael. § 9: de Am. § 1. The custom of seeking the society of distinguished jurists or orators is referred to in very similar language by Quintilian: x. 5, 19 quare iuvenis qui rationem inveniendi eloquendique a praeceptoribus diligenter acceperit . . . exercitationem quoque modicam fuerit consecutus, oratorem sibi aliquem, quod apud maiores fieri solebat, deligat, quem sequatur, quem imitetur: iudiciis intersit quam plurimis et sit certaminis cui destinatur frequens spectator. Cp. xii. 11, 5: Cic. Brut. § 305–6.

4. **principem locum.** So Ann. iii. 75, 4 principem in civitate locum studiis civilibus assecutus: cp. primum obtinent locum 38. 11, below.

5. **sectari.** Cp. *adsectabar* 2. 7.

6. **iudiciis .. contionibus:** of 'forensic' and 'deliberative' oratory: see on line 15, below.

altercationes. The *altercatio* was a discussion between rival speakers carried on in the way of short answers and retorts, whether in a court-of-law, in the senate, or on a public platform. In judicial cases it followed (when resorted to) the examination of witnesses, which was in Roman usage *preceded* by the main speeches for the prosecution and defence (Cic. in Verr. i. 1, § 55). A famous instance in the senate is the dialogue between Cicero and Clodius (ad Att. i. 16, 8): cp. Brut. § 159 iam in altercando (Crassus) invenit parem neminem. The *altercatio* (actio brevis atque concisa, Quint. vi. 4, 2) is always opposed to *perpetua* or *continua oratio* (Liv. iv. 6, 1: Tac. Hist. iv. 7, 2), and it required the utmost skill on the part of the disputants: asperrima in hac parte dimicatio est nec alibi dixeris magis mucrone pugnari, Quint. vi. 4, 4.

7. **utque sic dixerim,** for the more classical 'ut ita dicam:' so 40. 18: Germ. ii. 4: Ann. xiv. 53, 14, where see Furneaux's note. Cp. Quint. x. 2, 15.

8. **constantiae,** 'self-possession,' readiness.

9. **iudicii,** of 'sound judgment': cp. 19. 6.

in media luce. So 'forensi luce,' Cic. Brut. § 32: in hac fori luce, Quint. xii. 2, 8: the opposite is 'studia in umbra educata,' Ann. xiv. 53, 14. Cp. Quint. i. 2, 18 orator cui in maxima celebritate et in media rei publicae luce vivendum est: and for the frequent contrast between the shady retreat of the school and the open light of practical life, Cic. Brut. § 37: de Orat. i. § 157: Or. § 64: Quint. x. 5, 17, where see note: ib. xii. 6, 4.

10. **inter ipsa discrimina.** Cp. Cic. de Legg. iii. 6, 14 Phalereus ille Demetrius . . . mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque non modo in solem atque in pulverem, sed in ipsum discrimen aciemque produxit.

11. **contrarie dicit,** i. e. sibimet ipse

sarius exprobret, ipsi denique advocati aspernentur. Igitur vera statim et incorrupta eloquentia imbuebantur; et quamquam unum sequerentur, tamen omnes eiusdem aetatis patronos in plurimis et causis et iudiciis cognoscebant; habebantque ipsius populi diversissimarum aurium copiam, ex qua facile deprehenderent quid in quoque vel probaretur vel displiceret. Ita nec praeceptor deerat, optimus quidem et electissimus, qui faciem eloquentiae, non imaginem praestaret, nec adversarii et aemuli ferro, non rudibus dimicantes, nec auditorium semper plenum, semper novum, ex invidis et faventibus, ut nec bene *nec secus*

16. *populi* most codd., *populi et* EV_2. *ex quo* Meiser. 18. *optimus ille quidem* Baehrens, *optimus quisque* Meiser. 20. *rudibus* P. Faber, *sudibus* codd. *nec* Schele, *sed* codd. *s. plenum s. novum* all codd. except C (*s. novum s. plenum*). 21. *mixtum ex* Andresen. *breviter* C (for *bene*). *nec secus* Schopen, *nec male* Pithoeus (*nec male nec bene* Agricola, Novak), *nec minus bene* Andresen, *nec parum bene* John.

contradicit atque ita causae suae nocet, G. and G. Sen. de Ben. vi. 8, 4 Adversarius meus dum contraria dicit et iudicem superbia offendit . . . causam meam erexit. For *contrarius* in the sense of *noxius* or *damnosus*, cp. 35. 12, 39. 10.

quo minus. This clause is remarkable, in the first place, as an extension of the idea contained in *impune*, and also for the exceptional use of *quo minus* (cp. on 3. 15) for *quin*, *quin eum*.

respuat: cp. Quint. vi. 4, 19.

12. **ipsi . . . advocati,** 'one's own supporters.' This is the older meaning of the word, as in Cicero, who uses it of those who lent their countenance and personal support to a friend, especially in legal matters, e.g. Brut. § 289; pro Cluent. § 110, ib. § 54, where see Fausset's note. By Quintilian *advocatus* is generally used (as l. 5 above) as synonymous with 'actor causae,' 'causidicus,' 'patronus:' x. 1, 111; xii. 1, 25.

15. **et causis et iudiciis.** The distinction seems to correspond to that laid down in 'sive in iudiciis, sive in contionibus,' line 6, above: cp. 'fori auditor, sectator iudiciorum,' line 26, below. Cicero often uses the words together, without any express antithesis: Brut. § 105 Carbo est in multis iudiciis causisque cognitus, in Caec. Div. § 1 in causis iudiciisque publicis, ib. §§ 25, 73: cp. Or. § 69 in foro causisque civilibus (of 'deliberative' and 'forensic' oratory, excluding 'epideictic'), ib. § 207 in causis foroque, de Or. i. § 77, ii. § 42. John here understands *iudicia* of criminal trials, *causae* of civil actions.

ipsius . . . copiam: opportunities of (observing) the great diversity of taste on the part of the audience.' For the genitives, see Dr. § 75.

18. **electissimus.** Tacitus has the superlative only here. Novak would read 'lectissimus,' comparing Germ. vi. 8, Agric. xviii. 21.

faciem . . . imaginem: eloquence in her true features or bodily presence, not a mere copy or phantom. Cp. Quint. x. 2, 11 adde quod quidquid alteri simile est, necesse est minus sit eo quod imitatur, ut umbra corpore et imago facie et actus histrionum veris adfectibus. So ib. 5. § 17 in falsa rerum imagine detineri et inanibus simulacris . . . adsuescere,—of the declamations, which in contrast with the reality of 'forenses actiones' are mere shams.

20. **ferro, non rudibus,** 'with swords, not wooden foils.' The *rudis* was the wooden foil with which gladiators practised: Liv. xxvi. 51, 4. For a similar figure, cp. Cic. de Opt. Gen. Orat. § 17 non enim in acie versatur et ferro, sed quasi rudibus eius eludit oratio: Sen. Ep. 117, 25 remove ista lusoria arma, decretoriis opus est: Quint. x. 5, 20: and id. v. 12, 17 declamationes quibus ad pugnam forensem velut praepilatis exerceri solebamus.

21. **semper novum,** 'ever changing,' i.e. the audience was never the same. Gudeman unneccessarily proposes to reject these words as an interpolation: cp. below 'non novi iudicum vultus.'

ex invidis et faventibus, 'composed

dicta dissimularentur. Scitis enim magnam illam et duraturam eloquentiae famam non minus in diversis subselliis parari quam suis; inde quin immo constantius surgere, ibi fidelius corroborari. Atque hercule sub eius modi praeceptoribus iuvenis ille de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori auditor, sectator iudiciorum, eruditus et adsuefactus alienis experimentis, cui cotidie audienti notae leges, non novi iudicum vultus, frequens in oculis consuetudo contionum, saepe cognitae populi aures, sive accusationem susceperat sive defensionem, solus statim et unus cuicumque causae par erat. Nono decimo aetatis anno L. Crassus

23. *quam suis* codd., *quam in suis* Andresen, Halm. 30. *solus statim unicuique* HV and edd. vett. 31. *Nono decimo* codd.: *uno et vicesimo* Nipperdey, Baehrens.

of friendly and unfriendly hearers.' For this use of *ex* following a substantive (here *auditorium*) cp. Germ. xxiii. 1 potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento: Hist. iv. 76, 14 nullas esse Ceriali nisi e reliquiis Germanici exercitus legiones.—On the other hand, John thinks there is no need either to supply a participle, or to insert a comma after *novum*: the essential feature is 'ex invidis et faventibus' to which 'semper plenum, semper novum' are subordinate.

21. **nec bene nec secus dicta**: tr. 'so that neither graces nor faults of diction could pass unnoticed.' Cp. Ann. xiii. 6, 16 honestis an secus amicis uteretur: Liv. vii. 6, 8 pro bene aut secus consulto habitura: Cic. Pis. § 68 recte an secus. In favour of the reading 'ut nec male nec bene dicta,' it has been urged that the order is supported by 'ex invidis et faventibus' immediately below: but in the passage quoted from Livy xxiii. 46, 1 the meaning of 'nec bene nec male dicta' is 'neither praise nor blame.'

22. **duraturam,** as at 22. 15: cp. on *mansurum*, 9. 22.

23. **in diversis subselliis** on the benches of our opponents, whose criticisms are profitable and stimulating: cp. 37. ad fin. So Quint. xi. 3, 132–3 advocato adversis subselliis sedenti . . . transire in diversa subsellia parum verecundum est. For this use of *diversus* cp. diversam partem, 1. 18.

quam suis. For the omission of the prep. in the second clause, cp. 32. 17: 28. 14. J. Müller cites Plin. N. H. 2, 78 lunam bis coitum cum sole in nullo alio signo facere quam geminis—novissimam vero nullo alio in signo quam ariete conspici: 2, 188: Plin. Ep. 8. 24, 9.

24. **constantius . . . corroborari**: 'its growth in that quarter is more vigorous, and strikes deeper roots.' Cp. Cic. Fam. viii. 8, 2 'magna ilico fama surrexit': and 'quod fideliter firmum est,' Quint. vi. 4, 14.

26. **fori . . . iudiciorum.** These genitives denote the sphere in which the action expressed by the verbal nouns takes place. Cp. 5. 19.

27. **experimentis** = 'efforts': cp. 22. 9 usu et experimentis didicerat: Agr. xix. 2 doctus per aliena experimenta.

28. **in oculis,** for 'ante oculos': as ἐν ὄμμασι. So Hist. iv. 77, 6: Ann. iii. 29, 8: cp. 'in conspectu.'

29. **populi aures**: of the 'taste' of the public, as 19. 7, and line 15, above. The frequent use of *aures* in this sense in the Dialogus is noteworthy: cp. 20. 20 auribus et iudiciis; 9. 6 aures tuae; 27. 8 aures vestras; 21. 11 auribus iudicum; 19. 22 fastidium aurium. So Ann. xiii. 3, 8 ingenium amoenum et temporis eius auribus accommodatum.

30. **cuicumque causae.** For *quicumque* as an indefinite pronoun (= quivis or quilibet), see note on Quint. x. 1, 12.

31. **nono decimo,** &c. The facts are not exactly stated by Messalla. Crassus (see on 18. 10) was twenty-one (annos natus unum et viginti, de Or. iii. § 74) where he made his first public appearance in connexion with the prosecution of C. Papirius Carbo, in B.C. 119. Caesar was in his twenty-third year when, in

C. Carbonem, uno et vicensimo Caesar Dolabellam, altero et vicensimo Asinius Pollio C. Catonem, non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium iis orationibus insecuti sunt quas hodie quoque cum admiratione legimus.

35. At nunc adulescentuli nostri deducuntur in scholas istorum qui rhetores vocantur, quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora extitisse nec placuisse maioribus nostris ex eo manifestum est, quod a Crasso et Domitio censoribus cludere, ut ait Cicero, ludum impudentiae iussi sunt. Sed ut dicere institueram,

32. *uno et* codd.: *tertio et* Pichena. 34. *iis* ABCΔH, *Is* D, *his* EV_2: see Introd. p. lxxxviii. *hodie quoque* AB, Halm, Müller, Helmreich, *hodieque* $EV_2C\Delta D$, *hodie* H.
35. 1. *scholas istorum* Haupt, *seni* (*se in* EV_2C, *sem* D, *scenam* B corr., *scena* H) *scholasticorum* ABCΔDH (*scolasticorum* EV_2,), *in scholas eorum* Novak (who says of the MS. reading, *in seni scholasticorum*, 'ortum videtur e dittographia *insc. in scholasticorum*'). 4. *a* Michaelis, *M.* most codd., *Marco* HV_2 edd. vett.

B.C. 77, he impeached Dolabella (Suet. Iul. § 4) on a charge of *repetundae.* Quintilian is less definite: neque ego annos definiam, cum . . . Calvus, Caesar, Pollio multum ante quaestoriam omnes aetatem gravissima iudicia susceperint, praetextatos egisse quosdam sit traditum, xii. 6, 1. It is interesting to remember that Crassus afterwards regretted his attack on Carbo (Cic in Verr. iii. 1, 3) as having involved him in a premature declaration of his political opinions.

33. **Pollio** accused C. Porcius Cato in B.C. 54. He was born in B.C. 75. For **Calvus**, see on 17. 4: **Vatinius**, 21. 9.

non multum aetate antecedens. So Quint. x. 1, 103 paulum aetate praecedens eum: Cic. Brut. § 82 aetate paulum eis antecedens.

34. **insecuti sunt.** For this use of *insequi* (διώκειν) cp. Hor. Ep. ii. 2, 19 Insequeris tamen hunc et lite moraris iniqua. Similarly 4. 3: 21. 36.

hodie quoque. Most authorities consider this to be the correct reading, *quoque* being used, as often, for *etiam:* see on 6. 19. The form *hodieque* may have resulted from a misunderstood contraction: it occurs Germ. iii. 11 quod in ripa Rheni situm hodieque incolitur, and frequently in Velleius, Seneca, Pliny the Elder, and Suetonius: only once in Quintilian x. 1, 94, where see note. Similarly at 22. 6, B and H have *locos que* for *locos quoque,* while on the other hand out of *ipsosque,* 21. 35, H and the early edd. make *ipsos quoque.* Wölfflin, however, regards *hodieque* as a genuine form: v. Philologus, xxvi. p. 160.

35. 1. **At nunc.** 'But nowadays with us, young men,' &c. So 29. 1 At nunc natus infans.

2. **rhetores,** disparagingly, as quos rhetoras vocant, 30. 4. Cp. Cicero's criticisms of the 'rhetorici doctores,' de Or. i. §§ 86, 87.

4. **cludere ludum.** In Cic. ad Fam. ix. 18, we have 'aperire ludum.'

ut ait Cicero: de Or. iii. § 94 hoc cum unum traderetur et cum impudentiae ludus esset, putari esse censoris ne longius id serperet providere. Crassus was censor, along with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, in B.C. 92. For their edict *de coercendis rhetoribus Latinis,* see Suetonius, Rhet. § 1 renuntiatum est nobis esse homines qui novum genus disciplinae instituerunt, ad quos iuventus in ludum conveniat; eos sibi nomen imposuisse Latinos rhetoras, ibi homines adulescentulos dies totos desidere, &c. Mommsen, Hist. iii. 443-4.

5. **ut dicere institueram.** For this formula for resuming an interrupted sentence, John compares Cic. Verr. ii. § 41 and § 65: iii. § 24: pro Caecin. § 15. The colloquial equivalent was 'ut coepi (occepi) dicere:' Brix on Plaut. Trin. 847, Petron. 75, and Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. § 91. This is also a guarantee for the correctness of Haupt's emendation in line 1, 'deducuntur in scholas istorum' (cp. 31. 2): in the MS. reading (*se in, sem, seni*) John sees a gloss, '*sc. in* scholas,'—an attempted explanation of the unintelligible '*in scholasticorum.*'

deducuntur in scholas, *in* quibus non facile dixerim utrumne locus ipse an condiscipuli an genus studiorum plus mali ingeniis adferant. Nam in loco nihil reverentiae, sed in quem nemo nisi aeque imperitus intrat; in condiscipulis nihil profectus, cum pueri inter pueros et adulescentuli inter adulescentulos pari securitate et dicant et audiantur; ipsae vero exercitationes magna ex parte contrariae. Nempe enim duo genera materiarum apud rhetoras tractantur, suasoriae et controversiae. Ex his suasoriae quidem etsi tamquam plane leviores et minus prudentiae exigentes pueris delegantur, controversiae robustioribus ad-

6. *in* add. Schurzfleisch. 8. *reverentiae, sed . . . intrat* codd.: *reverentiae, ut* (*et* Seebode) . . . *intrat* John: *reverentiae est, in quem . . . intret* Halm (after Acidalius and Nipperdey). 13. *rhetores* BD. 14. *quidem etsi* CΔ, *quidem* b, *quid et si* ABEV$_2$, *quod etsi* D. [*Ex his . . . controversiae* om. HV edd. vett.]

6. **utrumne** occurs only here and at 37. 16. It is however frequent in Quintilian and Seneca.

8. **adferant.** It has been proposed to read *adferat*, but for the plural cp. 37. 26 nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quinctius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt. Even when the action of two subjects is thought of separately, Tacitus usually (as sometimes Livy) has the verb in the plural: cp. criminabimur, 41. 6.

sed in quem . . . intrat. It is best to keep to the reading of the MSS. *Sed* comes in, not unnaturally (like ἀλλά), after a negative statement, but it is unnecessary to alter *intrat* into *intret*. There is something to be said for John's 'ut . . . intrat:' for the indicative (of a well-known fact) cp. Germ. xxii. 2 ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat, ib. xvii. 6.

11. **securitate**, 'complacency,' 'unconcern.' Quintilian strongly censures (ii. 2, 9–13) the prevailing fashion of bestowing indiscriminate praise upon such performances, apart from their real merits: 'supervacua enim videntur cura ac labor parata quidquid effuderint laude.'

12. **contrariae**, 'not to the purpose:' they do harm rather than good: cp. 39, 10 contrariam experimur (stili anxietatem). So Quint. x. 5, 15 ne carmine quidem ludere contrarium fuerit: = 'alienum,' inconsistent with one's aim, inapposite.

Nempe enim, only here in Tacitus. Cp. Quint. ii. 13, 9; viii. pr. § 6: Plin. Ep. iii. 16, 8: Panegyr. 62, § 2. Also Plautus, Trinum. 61.

13. **suasoriae . . . controversiae.** See on *deliberativae* and *iudiciales materiae*, 31. 7: and cp. Introduction, p. xxvii, note. For the omission of the third *genus causarum*, cp. Quint. ii. 1, 2 illi (sc. rhetores) declamare modo et scientiam declamandi ac facultatem tradere officii sui dicunt idque intra deliberativas iudicialesque materias, nam cetera ut professione sua minora despiciunt. In the same passage, Quintilian takes a different view of the *suasoriae*: 'in quibus onus dicendi vel maximum est.'—See Mayor's note on Juv. i. 16: et nos Consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum Dormiret: and for examples of *suasoriae* and *controversiae* cp. id. vii. 162 and 168 sq.: Pers. iii. 45.

14. **quidem etsi.** I follow Vahlen and John in returning to the reading of the MSS.: the omission of *etsi* would seem to involve the necessity of reading 'controversiae autem' instead of 'controversiae,' immediately below—though Helmreich cites Ann. iv. 29 hi quidem statim exempti: in patrem ex servis quaesitum. The writer wishes specially to condemn the 'controversiae,' as producing worse results in proportion to the age of the pupils: he means to say 'as for the *suasoriae*, they are handed over to mere boys, as being of minor importance, and requiring less judgment: but though we might tolerate them, what of the *controversiae*? they are incredibly untrue to fact.'

15. **robustioribus.** There is the same antithesis in Quintilian, i. 8, 12 priora illa ad pueros magis, haec sequentia ad robustiores pertinebunt: cp. x. 1, 131: 5, § 1: ii. 2, 14, and often.

signantur,—quales, per fidem, et quam incredibiliter compositae! Sequitur autem ut materiae abhorrenti a veritate declamatio quoque adhibeatur. Sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia aut vitiatarum electiones aut pestilentiae remedia aut incesta matrum aut quidquid in schola cotidie agitur, in foro vel raro vel numquam, ingentibus verbis prosequantur: cum ad veros iudices ventum * * *

16. *per fidem* $EV_2C\Delta D$, *perfidie* ABH. 21. *prosequuntur* $ABEV_2$, *persequuntur* HVSp., *persequimur* D, *persequntur* $C\Delta$.

16. **per fidem.** So Petron. 100, 5: Apul. Met. vi. 4, for the more lengthy 'pro deum atque hominum fidem.' Cp. Verg. Aen. ii. 141 per si qua est . . . fides.

quam incredibiliter compositae. Gerber and Greef explain 'quam incredibilia continentes,' and so most edd. John thinks that *compositae* here = *fictae*, as 12. 19: cp. 31. 3.

17. **Sequitur autem.** Tr. 'Then there is also the declamatory style that is applied to subjects utterly remote from real life.' The sentence is introduced by what is really a formula of transition: another thing that makes these exercises 'contrariae' is, &c.

abhorrenti a veritate. So 'fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis,' 31. 3. Cp. Quint. ii. 20, 4 in declamationibus quas esse veritati dissimillimas volunt, xii. 11, 15 declamitare in schola et tantum laboris in rebus falsis consumere: Quintilian himself recommends 'declamationes quales in scholis rhetorum dicuntur, *si modo sunt ad veritatem accommodatae* et orationibus similes,' x. 15, 14.

declamatio: declamatorium dicendi genus, the 'scholastic' style of delivery, 31. 2. 'Videtur *declamatio* hic proprie de oratione fucata, qualis est abhorrens a veritate, dicta esse,' Halm, who rightly rejects the various insertions proposed after *quoque* (e.g. similis, par, vana, eadem, ficta), by those who take *sequitur* as = *consentaneum est.*

18. **Sic fit** introduces the consequence of both factors, the unnatural subjects and their unnatural treatment: examples are given of the former, while the latter is referred to in 'ingentibus verbis prosequantur.'

tyrannicidarum praemia. Juv. vii. 150 Declamare doces? o ferrea pectora Vetti, Cui perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos. Examples of such themes are preserved by Quintilian and Seneca the rhetorician: cp. Quint. vii. 3, 7 an qui tyrannum in mortem compulit tyrannicida? ib. § 10: 4 § 21 sq. § 44 an Thrasybulo triginta praemia debeantur: Sen. Controv. ix. 27: Exc. Controv. iii. 6: v. 7: Quint. Decl. 288, 345, 382.

vitiatarum electiones: 'rapta raptoris mortem vel nuptias optet.' Sen. i. 5; ii. 11; vii. 23: Exc. iii. 5; iv. 3: Quint. Decl. 276, 280, 301, 309, 368. For *pestilentiae remedia* cp. Quint. Decl. 326: and for *incesta matrum*, Decl. 306.

20. **quidquid.** So 'quidquid aliud,' 19. 13: cp. 10. 17; 5. 9.

21. **prosequantur** is probably to be preferred to *persequantur* (cp. 1. 17), as being more uncommon in this connexion: cp. Verg. Georg. iii. 339 quid pascua versu prosequar, Quint. ii. 6, 1 materias . . . latius dicendo prosequebantur.

cum ad veros iudices ventum. With the help of Petronius, Sat. i. (which should be compared throughout) the sentence may be completed, 'they find themselves in another world altogether': cp. ut cum in forum venerint putent se in alium terrarum orbem delatos, l. c. So Quint. x. 5, 17 ne ab illa in qua prope consenuerunt umbra vera discrimina velut quendam solem reformident: cp. the story of Porcius Latro, which follows.

In the lacuna which occurs here in all the MSS., and which probably contained originally a part equal to about one-ninth of the whole treatise (Introd., p. lxxxii), the rest of Messalla's speech must have followed. For the grounds on which it is believed that Maternus is the next speaker —not, as others have thought, Secundus (as far as 40. 7)—see Introd., p. xxxviii.

36. * * * rem cogitant. Nihil humile vel abiectum eloqui poterat. Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur et urendo clarescit. Eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam provexit. Nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat, tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi adsequi videbantur, cum, mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus, tantum quisque orator saperet quantum erranti populo persuadere poterat.

36. 1. *cogitant* AB, *cogitare* $EV_2C\Delta DH$, *cogitaret* many edd. *vel abiectum* AB, *nihil abiectum* $EV_2C\Delta DH$. 4. [*antiquorum*] Novak. 6. *fas* codd., *fas non* Schulting, *nefas* Andresen. *illi* Gutmann. 9. *persuadere* Heumann and edd., *persuaderi* codd. (which might be defended).

Chs. 36–41. *Speech of Maternus, connecting the decline of eloquence with external conditions, in respect of which the age of the republic was more favourable to its growth: and reviewing the compensating advantages of contemporary circumstances.*

36. 1. **humile . . . abiectum,** often conjoined by Cicero: de Fin. v. § 57 nihil abiectum, nihil humile cogitant: Or. § 192 humilem et abiectam orationem.

2. **Magna eloquentia.** This is the passage in connexion with which William Pitt is recorded to have proved his ready skill at off-hand translation. Some one having pronounced it untranslateable, he came out with the following: 'It is with eloquence as with a flame. It requires fuel to feed it, motion to excite it, and it brightens as it burns' (Stanhope's Life of Pitt, vol. iii. p. 413). Cp. Cic. Brut. § 93 omnis illa vis et quasi flamma exstinguitur.

3. **motibus.** The use of the plural seems to favour John's explanation that the reference is, in the case of eloquence, to political disturbances (cp. illa perturbatione, below): in the case of fire, it will be rather to deliberate stirring and poking, than to the fanning of fitful breezes. The commentators generally explain 'motus' of mental excitement, comparing the Brutus l. c. (of Galba) 'dein cum otiosus (i. e. in the calm that followed his outburst of feeling) stilum prehenderat motusque omnis animi tanquam ventus hominem defecerat, flaccescebat oratio.'

clarescit. This verb is more commonly used metaphorically, e. g. Ann. xi. 16, 13 (of becoming famous): cp. however Ann. xv. 37, 13 quantum iuxta nemoris . . . luminibus clarescere. Gudeman would substitute (with Maehly) *calescit* for *clarescit*, on the ground that the latter word is an 'intolerable tautology,'—only another expression for what is already contained in *motibus excitatur*: 'it is fanned into a flame by breezes, and waxes warm in the burning.' He compares 22. 12 tarde commovetur, raro incalescit, and also the frequent collocation 'excitare et inflammare' (e. g. Cic. pro Pomp. 2: de Harusp. resp. 1, 19). But this is altogether unnecessary: Pitt's 'it brightens as it burns' may be allowed to stand.

Eadem ratio, 'the same conditions.' From *in nostra quoque civitate*, we may infer that the speaker has been treating of Greek eloquence,—probably of the golden age of Attic oratory.

5. **composita . . . re publica**: 'under a settled, peaceable, and prosperous constitution.' Cp. 41. 2 non emendata neque usque ad votum composita civitas: Ann. iv. 1, 2 and passim.

quae . . . tribui fas erat, i. e. everything that could be legitimately accorded or secured to them—everything, therefore, that could be reasonably looked for—consistently with a settled political condition.

7. **videbantur,** sc. antiqui oratores, as is evident from the antithesis between *horum . . . temporum* and *illa perturbatione*. There is an emphasis on *sibi*, which goes with *adsequi*: 'the personal advantages which they saw open to them were greater then than now.'

8. **omnibus,** neuter, as 19. 19 pervulgatis iam omnibus: cp. Hist. i. 68, 13 dirutis omnibus. Tr. 'When in the

Hinc leges assiduae et populare nomen, hinc contiones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusationes potentium reorum et adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae, hinc procerum factiones et assidua senatus adversus plebem certamina. Quae singula etsi distrahebant rem publicam, exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam et magnis cumulare praemiis videbantur, quia quanto quisque plus dicendo poterat, tanto facilius honores adsequebatur, tanto magis in ipsis honoribus collegas suos anteibat, tanto plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis apud patres, plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem parabat. Hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi

12. *rerum* ABHDC, *reorum* B corr. 15. *cumulare* codd., *cumulari* Orelli, *stimulare* Cornelissen, cp. 37. 1. 20. *parabat* b Pithou, *probabat* codd.

general ferment, without the strong hand of a single ruler, the measure of each speaker's political discernment was his power of influencing the unstable populace,' i. e. each enjoyed a reputation for wisdom in proportion to his powers of persuasion. *Saperet* must = sapere videretur, sc. sibi et aliis: not, as Church and Brodribb, 'exactly adapted his wisdom to the bewildered people's capacity of conviction.'—John's explanation is rather different: he would supply 'sapere' with 'quantum,' contending that there is nothing anomalous in a speaker's reputation depending on his proved ability to produce conviction in others, and that the reference must be to the impression and appearance of wisdom that his words produce. The sense would then be 'That speaker was most highly thought of who could best dazzle and hoodwink his audience.' In this case, *erranti* will best be taken of 'erroneous judgment' (Cic. de Off. i. § 65 qui pendet ex errore imperitae multitudinis) rather than, as I prefer to take it, of unstable equilibrium: cp. 40. 19 nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit. So Andresen, *erranti* = 'inter varia ac saepe diversa iudicia fluctuanti, modo hunc modo illum admiranti.'

10. **et populare.** The conjunction is 'explicative': tr. 'a constant succession of legislative enactments and consequent popularity.' The motive, as well as the result, of such activity was to gain favour as a champion of popular rights: cp. plus . . . nominis apud plebem parabat, below.

11. **paene pernoctantium in rostris.** So frequently in Cicero: Brut. § 305 habitant in rostris: pro Mur. § 21 in foro habitant: de Or. i. § 264 is qui habitaret in subselliis.

accusationes . . . reorum, tautological: cp. Ann. xi. 5, 1 saevus accusandis reis. So 37. 14 accedebat splendor reorum et magnitudo causarum.

12. **adsignatae** = attributae, 'attaching to': tr. 'in which whole families became involved,' or 'which became hereditary in whole families' (Germ. xxi. 1). For parallel instances of *adsignare* in this sense of 'making a thing one's own,' John cites Quint. iv. 6, 62; xii. 10, 41; ix. 4, 29.

13. **procerum factiones,** 'schisms in the party of the aristocracy,'—some of the 'nobiles' taking up the cause of the people.

15. **cumulare.** So Verg. Aen. v. 532 Acesten muneribus cumulat magnis: cp. Hist. ii. 57, 9; iii. 36, 13.

18. **anteibat**: Hist. iii. 65, 5.

principes, 'the leading men.'

19. **notitiae ac nominis,** as at 11. 11. For *notitia,* cp. on 5. 19.

20. **clientelis . . . redundabant.** There may be a reference, with the view of glorifying the eloquence of former days, to the words which Aper had used (3. ad fin.) in addressing Maternus: cum te tot . . . coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae in forum vocent. Tr. 'These were the men whose protection was eagerly sought after even by whole nations of foreigners':

colebant, hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultro videbantur, hi ne privati quidem sine potestate erant, cum et populum et senatum consilio et auctoritate regerent. Quin immo sibi persuaserant neminem sine eloquentia aut adsequi posse in civitate aut tueri conspicuum et eminentem locum: nec mirum, cum etiam inviti ad populum producerentur, cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere, nisi quis ingenio et eloquentia sententiam suam tueretur, cum in aliquam invidiam aut crimen vocati sua voce respondendum haberent, cum testimonia quoque in *iudiciis*

24. *sibi persuaserant* B, *sibi ipsi persuaserant* cett. codd. Perhaps *Quin immo omnes sibi*: *omnes* (ōs) may have dropped out between *immo* and *sibi*. 28. [*breviter*] Schoell. *quis* Lipsius, *qui* codd. 29. *tueretur* ADCH, *tuerentur* B (*nisi ingenio . . . tuerentur* Novak). 30. *iudiciis publicis* Agricola, *publicis* codd., *publicis causis* Baehrens, *iudiciis* Heumann, Halm.

their numerous *clientelle* included even foreign states. *Hi* refers, of course, to 'qui plurimum dicendo poterant.'

22. **vocare ultro.** Office and emolument 'beckoned them,' without any solicitation on their part.

24. **consilio et auctoritate.** Similarly Germ. xii. 10 centeni singulis ex plebe comites consilium simul et auctoritas adsunt.

Quin immo. Nay more, eloquence was considered (*videbantur*, ll. 7 and 16) not only serviceable and profitable but even indispensable to public men: cp. below 'necessitas accedebat.'—Without *ipsi*, the subject to *persuaserant* is not the professional orators alone, but the *antiqui* generally, as also in what follows. The insertion of *ipsi* (probably due to some sort of dittography) seems to create a false antithesis between the general opinion of the *antiqui* and the views attributed to those who recognized in the profession of oratory the best passport to office.

26. **tueri . . . locum,** of 'holding one's ground': cp. honores tueri, 37. 4.

27. **producerentur,** viz. on the rostra in the forum. The meaning is, it was quite natural and intelligible that eloquence should come to be regarded as indispensable for the 'cursus honorum': even in less official situations the need for it was often felt. Then follows a regular sequence of (1) public assemblies (ad populum), (2) meetings of senate (in senatu), and (3) courts of law, either (*a*) as defendant (invidiam . . . crimen), or (*b*) as a witness (testimonia quoque).

parum esset: cp. 23. 15.

28. **censere.** For this absolute use, cp. Ann. i. 74, 19 'quo' inquit 'loco censebis, Caesar?'; xii. 9, 6: Hist. iv. 8, 2. For the thought, cp. 41. 13 Quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententiis, cum optimi cito consentiant?

nisi quis, &c. This does duty for a co-ordinate adversative clause: tr. 'No, one had to support one's opinion,'—that is to say, if one had any pretensions to rank as a statesman. A similar redundancy of expression has been noted on 34. 11 ubi nemo impune . . . quominus, &c. In such cases (especially common with 'non satis habere,' 'non satis est') the tendency is to express the thought both positively and negatively, for emphasis: among many other examples given by Vahlen, cp. Cic. pro Rosc. Am. § 49 ut parum miseriae sit quod aliis coluit, non sibi, nisi etiam quod omnino coluit crimini fuerit: Ter. Phormio, 724 non satis est tuum te officium fecisse, id si non fama adprobat: to which Binde adds Sen. Ep. 89, 20; Quint. v. 10, 12: and John, from the Greek, Hom. Od. xi. 158 *τὸν οὔπως ἔστι περῆσαι πεζὸν ἐόντ', ἢν μή τις ἔχῃ εὐεργέα νῆα*: ib. xvi. 196: Soph. Antig. 308: Xen. Cyrop. vii. 5. 75.

29. **invidiam aut crimen.** Cp. Hist. iii. 75. 15 invidiam crimenque, where however there is more of a hendiadys = the odium and the charge which incurred it: here rather 'defamation (unpopularity) or some definite charge.'

sua voce respondendum haberent, 'to surrender personally,' to appear in person in answer to a legal summons. For the constr. see on 8. 11.

publicis non absentes nec per tabellam dare, sed coram et praesentes dicere cogerentur. Ita ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna etiam necessitas accedebat; et quo modo disertum haberi pulchrum et gloriosum, sic contra mutum et elinguem videri deforme habebatur.

37. Ergo non minus rubore quam praemiis stimulabantur ne clientulorum loco potius quam patronorum numerarentur, ne traditae a maioribus necessitudines ad alios transirent, ne tamquam inertes et non suffecturi honoribus aut non impetrarent aut impetratos male tuerentur. Nescio an venerint in manus vestras haec vetera, quae et in antiquariorum bibliothecis adhuc manent et cum maxime a Muciano contrahuntur, ac iam undecim, ut

31. *praesentes* ABCΔDH, *praesentis* EV_2. 33. *quomodo . . . sic* Acidalius, *commoda . . . sed* codd.
37. 2. *loco* om. EV_2. 4. *honores* Schopen. 6. *antiquariorum* Schurzfleisch, *antiquorum* ABCEDH.

31. **per tabellam,** 'by affidavit.' Quint. v. 7, 1 testimonia . . . dicuntur aut per tabulas aut a praesentibus. For **coram et praesentes,** 'personally and in open court,' cp. Cic. ad Att. vii. 15, 1: de Leg. Agr. iii. 1, 1 Si . . coram potius, me praesente, dixissent. Similar uses of *coram* are found, Ann. iv. 75, 1; 55, 8; vi. 8, 19; xiii. 25, 4; xiv. 13. 1: Hist. ii. 76, 2 (coram . . . locutus, as opposed to *pourparlers*, through intermediary agents).

33. **quo modo . . . sic**: so 25. 10; 39. 6; 41. 9. Cp. Cic. Tusc. v. § 18. Dr. § 173.

34. **mutum et elinguem.** So Liv. x. 19, 7 ex muto atque elingui facundum etiam consulem haberent. Cic. Brut. § 100.

37. 1. **rubore** = pudore, as frequently in Tacitus: Hist. i. 30, 9 (rubor ac dedecus); iv. 7, 1: Germ. xiii. 3: Ann. xi. 17, 5; xiii. 15, 7; xiv. 55, 15. In such instances *rubor* is the effect put for the cause: 'blushes' for 'sense of shame,' or 'ground for shame.' Besides failure to obtain the 'praemia,' there would be a sense of personal indignity involved in not facing the 'necessitas' of the situation; cp. especially Hist. iv. 7, 1 Marcelli studium proprius rubor excitabat ne aliis electis posthabitus videretur.—So even in Cicero, *rubor* is used in this transferred sense: de Or. ii. § 242: cp. Livy iv. 35, 11: Ovid, A. A. iii. 167.

2. **clientulorum.** The diminutive, which occurs nowhere else, is used to indicate disparagement of those who cannot stand up for themselves but need a protector.

ne traditae, &c., 'not to let inherited connexions pass into other hands.'

4. **non suffecturi** = impares. Cp. Ann. i. 13, 5 cum tractaret quinam adipisci principem locum suffecturi abnuerent: Germ. xii. 12 arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris quam civitas suffecturum probaverit.

6. **vetera,** 'old records.' On the substantival use of the neut. adj. see Introd. p. lv.

antiquariorum. 21. 18; 42. 7.

7. **cum maxime.** See note on 16. ad fin.

Mucianus, C. Licinius Crassus, the well-known lieutenant of Vespasian: see Hist. i. 10, 2; ii. 5 and passim. He was a grandson of the triumvir Crassus. As he is known to have died in or before 77 A.D. (Plin. H. N. xxx. 62) the statement in the text helps to fix the date of the *Dialogus*. See Introd. p. xiv.

contrahuntur = colliguntur: cp. contrahere pecuniam, Ann. i. 37, 4; xvi. 31. 3. In Quint. x. 7, 31 there is some dispute as to whether *contraxit* = 'collected,' as here, or 'abridged': see note ad loc. Here, too, John would render *contrahere* by 'verkürzen,' contending that this gives

opinor, Actorum libris et tribus Epistularum composita et edita sunt. Ex his intellegi potest Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratione valuisse; Lentulos et Metellos et Lucullos et Curiones et ceteram procerum manum multum in his studiis operae curaeque posuisse, nec quemquam illis temporibus magnam potentiam sine aliqua eloquentia consecutum. His accedebat splendor reorum et magnitudo causarum, quae et ipsa plurimum eloquentiae praestant. Nam multum interest utrumne de furto aut formula et interdicto dicendum habeas, an de ambitu comitiorum, expilatis sociis

11. *Metellos et* CΔDH b, *Metellos sed et* ABEV$_2$. 14. *accedebat* ABEV$_2$H, *accedat* CΔD. 15. *causarum* EV$_2$CΔDH (per compend.) b, *curarum* AB. 17. *expilatis* ABEV$_2$H, *de expilatis* CΔD, *aut expilatis* Gudeman (v. Am. Journ. Phil. xii. pp. 454–6).

point to the *et . . . et* construction: these old records are not only to be found in libraries, in their original form and extent, but they are even now being edited, as Eclogarii, Electa, or Excerpta (Cic. ad Att. xvi. 2, 6: Plin. Ep. iii. 5, 17: Front. ed. Naber, p. 107).

8. **Actorum**, 'Transactions.' Like the 'acta senatus,' these may also have contained speeches. See Furneaux, Introd. to Annals, ch. iii. p. 14.

composita = ordinata, 'arranged.'

10. **viribus et armis**, generally taken as a hendiadys, 'force of arms': tr. 'prowess in the field.' So Hist. iv. 23, 5; 68, 6. For the oratorical ability of Pompey and Crassus, see Cic. Brut. §§ 239 and 233.

11. **Lentulos**. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus (consul B.C. 72, censor 70) and P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, the conspirator, are frequently mentioned together in the *Brutus*: §§ 230, 234–5, 308, 311. There was also P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, who as consul in B.C. 57 moved for Cicero's recall from exile: Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, consul B.C. 56: and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, consul B.C. 49: see Brut. §§ 268, 247.

Metellos. Cp. Brut. § 247 Duo etiam Metelli, Celer et Nepos: the former was consul in B.C. 60, the latter attacked Cicero on the expiry of his consulship in B.C. 63, and was consul himself in 57. Their father was Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, grandson of the famous Metellus Macedonicus.

Lucullos. The great Lucullus wrote a history of the Social War in Greek. He is mentioned along with his brother Marcus in Brut. § 222.

Curiones. The Curios, father and son (as also the grandson, Caesar's ally), are frequently referred to in the Brutus: cp. also de Or. ii. § 98.

14. **splendor reorum**. So 36. 11 accusationes potentium reorum.

15. **quae et ipsa**. See on 30. 1 in quibus et ipsis.

plurimum eloquentiae praestant, 'are in the highest degree conducive to eloquence,' do very much to promote its development. *Eloquentiae* is dative: cp. nec hoc illis . . . praestat, 8. 6.

16. **utrumne**, as at 35. 6.

formula. See on 20. 3.

interdicto, sc. praetoris. The praetor's interdict was a provisional order, issued generally in connexion with disputes about property, forbidding interference with or derangement of an existing position, and in some cases (as where force had already been employed) directing immediate restitution. This was the *interdictum restitutorium, recuperandae possessionis causa*, Gaius iv. 140–1.

17. **dicendum habeas**. See on 8. 11.

de ambitu comitiorum, as in the *pro Murena*. Tr. 'corrupt practices at elections.' For the genitive, cp. 34. 26. Andresen compares Ann. ii. 34, 1 ambitum fori: Cic. ad Qu. Fr. i. 1, 25 itinerum atque agrorum furta.

expilatis sociis, as in Cicero's impeachment of Verres: Cic. de Off. ii. § 75

et civibus trucidatis. Quae mala sicut non accidere melius est isque optimus civitatis status habendus in quo nihil tale patimur, ita cum acciderent ingentem eloquentiae materiam subministrabant. Crescit enim cum amplitudine rerum vis ingenii, nec quisquam claram et inlustrem orationem efficere potest nisi qui causam parem invenit. Non, opinor, Demosthenem orationes inlustrant quas adversus tutores suos composuit, nec Ciceronem magnum oratorem P. Quintius defensus aut Licinius Archias faciunt: Catilina et Milo et Verres et Antonius hanc illi famam circumdederunt, non quia tanti fuerit rei publicae malos ferre cives ut uberem ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent, sed, ut subinde admoneo, quaestionis meminerimus sciamusque nos de ea re loqui quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus existit. Quis ignorat utilius ac melius esse frui pace quam bello vexari?

18. *civibus* Put., *comitibus* codd.: cp. 31. 31. 19. *habendus* EV$_2$CΔ, *habendus est* ABH, *est habendus* D (H gives *habendus est quo*, which helps to prove that *est* arose out of *in*). 25. *Archias poeta* H and all edd. till Lipsius. 27. *fuerit* Madvig *fuit* codd. *rei publicae* Heumann, *rem publicam* codd. (*r. p.* H). 30. *existit* Lipsius, *extitit* codd.

expilatio direptioque sociorum: pro Leg. Manil. § 57. The word is found in Tacitus only here, and does not occur in Quintilian or Seneca.

18. **sicut . . . ita**: Agr. xliv. 13. This construction is not so common as *ut . . . ita*. Dr. § 173. Cp. note on Quint. x. 1, 1.

25. **Quintius defensus.** For this frequent use of the perfect participle, cp. 29. 11: So also Cicero, Pis. § 85, Planc. § 45. The speech *pro Quintio* was delivered in B. C. 81.

26. **faciunt**: for the plural cp. 25. 8 adferant.

hanc illi famam: sc. magni oratoris. This is better than to explain the pronoun as = the high reputation which he enjoys with us to-day. For *famam . . . circumdederunt*, cp. Agric. xx. 2 egregiam famam paci circumdedit: Hist. iv. 11, 14.

27. **non quia**, 'not that.' The construction shows that the speaker is guarding against misinterpretation: he will not have any one imagine that he thinks that the republic did not pay too dearly for its renown in eloquence: he is not praising political unrest in itself (cp. 36. 6 and 14; 37. 18) nor treating it as the lesser of two evils. The phrase is really elliptical for 'non putem fuisse': 'I do not say this because,' in saying this I do not mean to imply that, &c. Cp. Agr. xlvi. 11: Hist. i. 15, 13; 29, 13: Ann. xiv. 43, 3: Sen. Dial. viii. 3, 1: Quint. viii. 5, 10, and see Introd. to Book x. p. liv. The classical *non quo* (or *quod*) with the subjunctive, negativing a supposed or a possible view (Cic. Phil. ix. 1, 1) is not found in Tacitus. On the other hand, we have *non quia* with indicative, 9. 12 non quia poeta es: Hist. iii. 4, 11: Ann. xiii. 1, 3; xv. 60, 8, where 'the fact is taken to be true, though denied to have produced the result' (Furneaux).—For the thought cp. 40. ad fin. 'sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit,' &c.

tanti fuerit: Roby, §§ 1192, 1193.

ferre, 'to produce,' not (as C. and B.) 'to endure.' So 'ferunt,' in line 32, below.

28. **uberem . . . materiam.** So Hist. ii. 30, 18; i. 1, 19: Quint. iii. 1, 3; 7 § 13; 11 § 25. Cp. ingentem materiam, line 20, above.

29. **subinde**, 'from time to time,' 'repeatedly,' as in Hor. Sat. ii. 5, 103: Liv. ix. 16, 4: Plin. Ep. i. 13, 2; ii. 7, 6: Quint. xi. 2, 34: Sen. Dial. xii. 20, 1.

plures tamen bonos proeliatores bella quam pax ferunt. Similis eloquentiae condicio. Nam quo saepius steterit tamquam in acie quoque plures et intulerit ictus et exceperit quoque maiores adversarios acrioresque pugnas sibi ipsa desumpserit, tanto altior et excelsior et illis nobilitata discriminibus in ore hominum agit, quorum ea natura est ut secura vel*lice*nt.

33. *quo quis saepius* Michaelis (*saepius quis* Buchholz). 34. *quoque* B, Halm, and edd., *quo* ADCH, *maiores adversarios acrioresque pugnas sibi ipsa* Bötticher, Halm, and edd.: *maior adversarius eo* (*eo* $EV_2C\Delta DH$, *ei* A, *et* BA^2) *acrior qui pugnas sibi ipsas* (*ipse* B, *asperas* HV edd.) codd., *et acriores pugnas* Orelli. Retaining 'quo maior adversarius et acrior,' Michaelis continues 'quicum (*qui* ABDEH *per* C) pugnas sibi istas desumpserit.' 36. *nobilitata* Latinius, *nobilitatus* AHC and corr. B, *nobilitatis* B, *nobilitate* D. *discriminibus* Lipsius, *criminibus* codd. 37. *ut secura vellicent* is my conj., *ut secura velint* codd. (*nolint* Rhenanus, *elevent* F. Walter), *ut secura . . . . velint* Müller, *ut dubia laudent secura nolint* Agricola, *ut secura oderint incerta* (*periculosa*) *velint* Goelzer, *ut secura velint periculosa extollant* (or *laudent*) John, *ut ancipitia non secura velint* Schopen, *ut secura sibi aliis dura velint* Heller, &c., &c. Reading *securi ipsi* (with Baehrens) Halm follows Vahlen: *ut securi ipsi spectare aliena pericula velint*. But John rightly holds that this would be far more appropriate of the spectators of a gladiatorial show in the amphitheatre.

32. **proeliatores**, a rare word, found however again in Ann. ii. 73, 8: Val. Max. iii. 2, 24. Dr. § 2, 6 refers also to Liv. iii. 2, 24 and Justin.

33. **steterit**, sc. eloquentia. For the figure, cp. Quint. x. 1, 29 nos vero (we advocates) armatos stare in acie et summis de rebus decernere et ad victoriam niti. *Eloquentia* is personified in the same way in 12. 7: also by Cicero, Brut. § 330: cp. *dictio*, de Or. i. § 157 (educenda deinde dictio est . . . in aciem forensem).—On the other hand, the subject might well enough be 'orator,' to be supplied out of the context, as often: we should then have to read *ipse* in 35 and *nobilitatus* in 36. In the same sense Novak reads *steteris, intuleris, exceperis, tibi ipse desumpseris, ages*.

34. **intulerit ictus**: Ann. v. 8, 9. So 'vulnera inferre.' *Excipere ictus* occurs again Ann. xiii. 25, 6: as 'accipere ictus,' Ann. iii. 43. 11, where we have also 'inferre ictus.'

maiores adversarios. Cp. Hist. ii. 53, 5 ut novus adhuc et in senatum nuper adscitus magnis inimicitiis claresceret.

35. **desumpserit.** Liv. vii. 20, 5 populum Romanum . . . sibi desumerent hostem.

36. **nobilitata.** Hist. i. 2, 7 nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus: Germ. xl. 1 Langobardos paucitas nobilitat. For the tendency to pass from comparatives to a positive in the second or third item of a series cp. Ann. iii. 43, 2 quanto civitas opulentior et comprimendi procul praesidium; ii. 5, 4 quanto acriora in eum studia militum et aversa patrum voluntas. See Furneaux, Introd. Annals, pp. 50–1.

in ore hominum agit. The sense is rather uncertain, as the phrase may mean either 'is before men's eyes,' or 'is on men's lips.' For the former, with which the comparatives 'altior,' &c., seem, on the whole, more appropriate, cp. Hist. iii. 36, 4 non in ore vulgi agere (= in conspectu: opp. to 'umbraculis . . . abditus'); ib. 77, 14 in ore Vitellii iugulatur: Ann. iii. 74, 9: Sallust, Hist. i. 90; ii. 41, 4. For the other rendering cp. Hist. ii. 73, 4 erat tamen in ore famaque Vespasianus; ib. 78, 21 nec quidquam magis in ore vulgi ('it was the theme of general conversation'): Ann. xiv. 56, 9.

37. **secura vellicent**, to 'belittle what involves no risk.' *Secura* gives an antithesis to *discriminibus*, above. *Vellicent* is adopted on the theory that a contraction in the archetype may have been (as often) misunderstood: cp. *fugitet* 22. 23.—John explains his 'secura velint, periculosa extollant' or 'laedant' as meaning that while men (practically) acquiesce in what is safe, they reserve their applause and admiration for what involves danger.

38. Transeo ad formam et consuetudinem veterum iudiciorum. Quae etsi nunc aptior est [ita erit], eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat, in quo nemo intra paucissimas horas perorare cogebatur et liberae comperendinationes erant et modum dicendi sibi quisque sumebat et numerus neque dierum neque patronorum finiebatur. Primus haec tertio consulatu Cn.

38. 2. *est* [*ita erit*] Dronke, Baehrens, *est ita erit* codd., *extiterit* Walther and edd., *est veritati* Agricola, *existimatur* Acidalius: *qua etsi hanc aptiorem statueris* Schmid, Andresen. Perhaps 'aptiora extiterunt'? *eloquentiam* Agricola, *eloquentia* codd. 3. *paucissimas horas* Δ, *paucissimas* A, *paucissimas* (*s. horas*) BDEVH, *pauc. horas s.* C. 5. *dicendi* AH, *dicendo* cett. codd. 6. *haec* DC, *hic* AB, *h'* H (*huius* VSp.).

38. 1. **formam**, peculiar characteristics; 1. 16 dum formam sui quisque et animi et ingenii redderent. For *consuetudo*, cp. 34. 29 consuetudo contionum. Tr. 'forms and procedure.'

2. **Quae etsi nunc**, &c. It should be noted that the construction is not the same as at 36. 14.

aptior est, 'is more practical,' more to the purpose. It seems best to accept this reading, with Novak and John, and to treat *ita erit* (ituerit V_2) as part of a gloss referring to the antithesis *nunc* ... *veterum*. In place of the conj. *extiterit* (20. 21) the usage of Tacitus would certainly have led us to expect the indicative. The relative *quae* is obviously not coextensive with its antecedent (forma et cons. *veterum* iudic.): John points out that there is a parallel extension in Ann. xiii. 3, 9 adnotabant seniores, quibus otiosum *est*, &c., Germ. xxiv. 2 *nudi* iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est: for an example of limitation, cp. Thucyd. vii. 44, 1 ἐν δὲ νυκτομαχίᾳ, ἣ μόνη δὴ ... ἔν γε τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγένετο, πῶς ἄν τις σαφῶς τι ᾔδει; — On the other hand it is just possible that 'veterum' is out of place: 'quae etsi nunc aptior est, *veterum* eloquentiam tamen,' &c. Such a transposition might also help to explain the MS. reading *est ita erit*.

illud, sc. veterum, opp. to *nunc*, as *hic* is often used of 'here and now.' Cp. 'illa *perturbatione*, 36. 6 where the reference is to 'antiquorum' in the preceding sentence.

3. **intra paucissimas horas**. Cp. 19. 10 id ipsum laudabat (sc. populus) si dicendo quis diem eximeret. In early times, the hearing of a cause might last from the rising to the going down of the sun. For subsequent restrictions, see note on 'primus ... Pompeius,' below.

4. **perorare**, here in its original sense of 'to plead throughout,' as often with causam: cp. Cic. pro Cluent. § 164 quam paucis verbis haec causa perorari potuerit: Liv. xxxiv. 31 breviter peroratum esse potuit nihil me ... commisisse. Of the two other meanings with which Cicero uses this verb (see Fausset's pro Cluentio: Glossary, p. 280) the first is probably illustrated in Ann. vi. 40, 4 cum perorassent accusatores, in ipsa curia deprомptum sibi venenum hausit, 'when they had finished their speeches': cp. Cluent. § 6 cum peroraro; § 59 ut reliqua posset perorare; § 145 lege recitata perorassem. The second (to finish the advocacy of one side, i.e. make the final speech, summing up the whole case) is found Ann. ii. 30, 2 certabant cui ius perorandi in reum daretur: cp. iii. 17, 15: Cic. pro Sest. § 3: Orat. § 130.

liberae comperendinationes, either on account of the importance of the case, or on the ground of some special circumstance, such as the danger with which the iudices and the witnesses were threatened in the case of Clodius (Plut. Cic. xxix.) or Milo (Ascon. in Milon. [148]). The *Lex Aurelia iudiciaria* (70 B.C.) restricted the right of adjournment. See Poiret, L'éloquence judiciaire à Rome pendant la République, pp. 204–209.

modum dicendi: the limits, or proportions of his speech.

5. **numerus dierum**. Cp. Plin. Ep. i. 20, 8 ait se (Cicero) pro C. Cornelio quadriduo egisse. So the case of Balbus lasted at least two days; Cicero refers in his speech (§ 2) to those which had been delivered on the previous day.

6. **patronorum**. 'In the earlier period

Pompeius adstrinxit imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiae, ita tamen ut omnia in foro, omnia legibus, omnia apud praetores gererentur: apud quos quanto maiora negotia olim exerceri solita sint, quod maius argumentum est quam quod causae centumvirales, quae nunc primum obtinent locum, adeo splendore aliorum iudiciorum obruebantur ut neque Ciceronis neque Caesaris neque Bruti neque Caelii neque Calvi, non denique ullius magni oratoris liber apud centumviros dictus legatur, exceptis orationibus Asinii quae pro heredibus Urbiniae inscribuntur, ab ipso tamen Pollione mediis divi Augusti temporibus habitae, postquam longa temporum quies et continuum populi otium et

12. *aliorum* EV$_2$CΔDH, *aliquorum* AB, *illorum* H. Meyer. 15. *Urbiniae* Lipsius, *urbinae* B, *Uruie* A, *Uriuae* DC (*ironiae* HVSp.)

of forensic pleading, it was the practice for a *patronus* to conduct the whole case entrusted to him single-handed,' Ramsay, Rom. Ant. p. 312. Afterwards there might be several *patroni*; Murena was defended, for example, by Cicero, Hortensius, and Crassus, and in later cases we hear of three, four, six, and even twelve advocates.

6. **Primus . . . Pompeius.** This was in B.C. 52, when Pompey was for five months sole consul, 'corrigendis moribus delectus.' His enactment limited the speech for the prosecution to two hours, and that of the defender to three: cp. Cic. Brut. § 324 lege Pompeia ternis horis ad dicendum datis: ib. § 243 illius iudicialis anni severitatem: de Fin iv. 1, 1. Even before Pompey's legislation, something seems to have been done towards curtailing the length of the speeches. In his impeachment of Verres, Cicero speaks of the time accorded to him by law ('legitimae horae,' ii. 1, 9, 25): while in the *pro Flacco* he mentions six hours as the time allowed for the prosecution (sex horas lex omnino dedit, § 82). It was probably the neglect of these enactments that provoked Pompey's statute. Under the Empire the time allotted to counsel seems to have varied at different periods. At the trial of Marius Priscus, Pliny spoke for five hours (dixi horis paene quinque, Ep. ii. 11, 14). On another occasion six hours were allowed to the accuser and nine to the accused: cum e lege accusator sex horas novem reus accepisset, Ep. iv. 9, 9: while in vi. 2, 5 we hear of so few as two clepsydrae, one clepsydra, and even half a one being asked for and granted. That these restrictions were felt to be irksome we may infer from what Pliny says elsewhere: 'si modo iustum et debitum tempus accipiat, quod si negetur nulla oratoris maxima iudicis culpa est,' Ep. i. 20, 10.

7. **adstrinxit** = coartavit. Cp. adstrictus, 25. 17: 31. 21: Ann. iii. 55, 15.

8. **in foro**, and not in the imperial palace or in *auditoria* and *tabularia*, 39. 5. **legibus**, and not at the caprice of princes or judges (cp. 19. 23). **apud praetores**, and not before the emperor.

9. **negotia**, of actions-at-law: cp. 9. 11: forensibus negotiis, 14. 14; 19. 25: Ann. ii. 27, 2; xi. 6, 7; xiii. 4, 8; xvi. 22, 9.

10. **causae centumvirales.** See on 7. 6.

12. **obruebantur**, were overshadowed, eclipsed. So Agr. xvii. 8 Cerialis . . . alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset: cp. Cic. Brut. § 172.

14. **liber** of a speech, written down and published: so 12. 24; 20. 3; 21. 6 and 26; 25. 21; 26. 16; 39. 24. Tr. 'there is not a speech, delivered before the centumviri, that would be read nowadays.'

15. **pro heredibus Urbiniae.** This was a case in which an adventurer called Clusinius Figulus alleged that he was the son of the deceased Urbinia, and laid claim to her estate. Quint. vii. 2, 4–5.

ab ipso tamen Pollione, 'and even these Pollio delivered,' &c. The point is that it was only when political passions had subsided that orators of standing could afford to interest themselves in private cases.

assidua senatus tranquillitas et maxima principis disciplina ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia depacaverat.

39. Parvum et ridiculum fortasse videbitur quod dicturus sum, dicam tamen, vel ideo ut rideatur. Quantum humilitatis putamus eloquentiae attulisse paenulas istas, quibus adstricti et velut inclusi cum iudicibus fabulamur? Quantum virium detraxisse orationi auditoria et tabularia credimus, in quibus iam fere plurimae causae explicantur? Nam quo modo nobiles equos

18. *maxima* AB, *maximi* DCH (Baehrens), *maxime* Haase, Halm, and edd. 'Concinnitas' seems to be in favour of *maxima*. 19. *omnia depacaverat* A, (*deparaverat* B), *omnia alia pacaverat* H and most codd. (Michaelis, Halm, Müller), *alia omnia pacaverat* E.

39. 1. *videbitur* Ursinus, *videtur* codd., *videatur* Orelli, Halm, and edd. 2. *rideatur* $EV_2C\Delta DH$, *ridear* AB. 5. *tabularia* ABDH, *tabula\iae* V_2C (*tabularię* E), *fabularię* A.

18. **disciplina**, of the 'great imperial system,' or 'constitution': cp. 40. 13 quarum civitatum severissima disciplina: Hist. iv. 74, 18 octingentorum annorum fortuna disciplinaque compages haec coaluit, where G. and G. render 'Staatsordnung,' 'Regierungsweisheit.' So Cic. de Or. ii. § 67 disciplina civitatis: i. § 159 disciplina rei publicae: i. § 3 perturbationem disciplinae veteris,—the overthrow of the old political system.

19. **sicut omnia.** *Alia* is added in many MSS. (cp. 21. 4), but its omission may be justified by a comparison of Hist. ii. 80, 5 Caesarem, Augustum, et omnia principis vocabula: iv. 3, 14 Iudaeam Suriamque et omnes provincias.

depacaverat, &c., 'had brought peace and quietness into': a ἅπ. εἰρ. formed on the analogy of *delinire, demitigare.* Livy has 'perpacare.' John points out that the reading 'depacaverat' is supported by the preference which the author shows in the Dialogue for compound forms, especially verbs compounded with *de-* and *con-*, in a weakened signification: e. g. 7. 17 demonstrare = monstrare: 22. 25 determinare = terminare (16. 17 is different): 37. 35 desumere = sumere (10. 36). Cp. also 10. 11 denegavit, deterream: 6. 15 consurgere = surgere: 15. 12 conquirere = quaerere.

39. 1. **videbitur** seems the better reading—certainly with *rideatur* following. *Videatur* is, however, supported by 16. 26.

2. **vel,** 'even if only,'—even if I achieve no other result than to raise a laugh, though the matter is really one about which we ought to feel shame and humiliation. Cp. Quint. iv. 1, 33 non tamen omittenda vel ideo ne occupentur: ib. x. 1, 86, 131 (vel ideo quod). Similarly Hist. iv. 49, 31 vel forte: Agr. iii. 16 vel incondita ac rudi voce, where *vel* = 'even if only.'

Quantum humilitatis, &c. Tr. 'How much have we done to abase eloquence by,' &c.

3. **paenulas.** The paenula was properly a rough sleeveless cloak, of wool or leather, worn in rainy weather. See Mayor's note on Juv. v. 79. It fitted closely to the body, whence *adstricti et velut inclusi.* The dignity of the legal profession must have been in danger when counsel took to appearing in this cloak instead of the toga. A modern barrister might as well address the bench in an 'ulster.'

4. **fabulamur:** cp. 23. 11.

5. **tabularia,** 'offices,' properly 'record-offices,'—chambers which, like the *auditoria,* would have been considered in earlier days unsuited to the majesty of the law. The 'basilicae' were found inadequate for the rush of business which followed the late disturbances: Suet. Vesp. 10.

6. **fere.** It is sometimes difficult to see whether *fere* is meant to attach itself to a single word (Reid on Lael. § 2) or to a whole sentence. Here it might be joined to *plurimae,* 'pretty well most': cp. Cic. Tusc. iii. § 73 'fere plerique.' This is, however, much more common with 'fere omnes': and it is safer to take *fere* here as modifying the whole state-

cursus et spatia probant, sic est aliquis oratorum campus, per quem nisi liberi et soluti ferantur debilitatur ac frangitur eloquentia. Ipsam quin immo curam et diligentis stili anxietatem contrariam experimur, quia saepe interrogat iudex quando incipias, et ex interrogatione eius incipiendum est. Frequenter probationibus et testibus *audiendis* silentium patronis indicit. Unus inter haec dicenti aut alter adsistit, et res velut in

ꝩ quam *s. cām.*
11. *quando* H, *quando* AB, *quam quando* ΔD, *quam quando* C, *quam* EV_2, *causam quando* Bekker, Baehrens. 12. *testibus audiendis silentium patronis* is my conj., *testibus sil. patronus* codd. (except that H has a blank between *testibus* and *patronus*). For *patronus* Haupt suggested *impatiens* (Halm), Orelli *praetor*, Weissenborn *importunus*, Halm *protinus* or *ultro*, Meiser *testibus patroni silentium*.

ment: cp. ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὡς εἰπεῖν: tr. 'most cases are nowadays generally unfolded.' At 20. 2 and 31. 7 it = plerumque.—*Fere* has a tendency to connect itself with *iam*: but the text is different from Cic. Verr. v. § 94 ('lucebat iam fere'), or pro Tull. § 21 ('iam fere cum lux appropinquaret').

6. **quo modo . . . sic**: cp. 25. 10: 36. 33: 41. 9.

7. **cursus et spatia.** A 'spacious, roomy race-course' is required to put a racer 'on his mettle.' For the hendiadys cp. Germ. xxxvii. 3 castra ac spatia: Verg. Georg. iii. 202 Hic vel ad Elei metas et maxuma campi Sudabit spatia.

oratorum campus. For the figure, cp. Cic. Acad. ii. § 112 cum sit enim campus in quo exsultare possit oratio, cur eam tantas in angustias et Stoicorum in dumeta compellimus: de Or. iii. § 71 ex ingenti quodam oratorem immensoque campo in exiguum sane gyrum compellitis.—*Aliquis* is unusual, for *quidam*: John cites Cic. pro Arch. § 18 quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere: cp. Germ. xlvi. 17.

8. **liberi et soluti.** These words are very frequently conjoined: Cic. Verr. ii. 2, § 185 animo soluto liberoque: ib. § 192 liberi ad causas solutique veniebant: de Div. i. § 4 motu soluto et libero: pro Planc. § 72: ad Att. i. 13, 2: pro Rab. Post. § 12: Sall. Cat. vi. 1: Sen. de Ben. ii. 18, 5.

9. **Ipsam quin immo,** &c., 'Moreover we know by experience that even preparation and solicitude about the elaboration of what we write do more harm than good': for the judge interrupts, and then it is all over with us. In itself, excessive preparation may lead to failure, if it makes the speaker the bond-slave of what he has prepared (see Quint. x. 7, 14 and 32: xii. 9, 16 sq.: xi. 2, 48 sq.): it is worse if the judge is impatient or out of temper. For *diligentis stili* cp. Quint. x. 3, 5 sit primo vel tardus dum diligens stilus: and for *contrariam*, see on 35. 12.

10. **saepe** and **frequenter** correspond, like 'modo . . . modo.' John compares saepe . . . nonnumquam, Vell. ii. 90, 2.

11. **quando incipias**: 'when are you coming to the point?' Cp. 19. ad fin.

ex interrogatione, not 'with the point indicated in his question' (as Wolff): tr. 'when he puts this question.'

12. **probationibus** is generally taken as referring to the third constituent part of a judicial speech: after the 'introduction' and the 'narrative' came the 'proof,' the 'refutation,' and the 'closing appeal' (Quint. iii. 9. 1). Those who adopt this view delete *patronus*, with Novak, who says, 'addidit librarius *patronus*, subiectum desiderans.'—But I venture to read *patronis*, and to supply *audiendis* in the text: the meaning may be that when the judge does not request counsel to 'get to business,' he does even worse,—cuts him short, and proceeds to hear 'proof' and evidence. This seems to account better for the plural 'probationibus': the examination of witnesses generally followed the main speeches for the prosecution and defence (Cic. in Verr. i. 1 § 55). For Tacitus's use of the gerundive as equivalent to a final clause, after a verb, see Dr. 206 B.

13. **unus aut alter**: see on 21. 6. For *inter haec*, cp. Ann. xi. 35. 1: *inter quae*, i. 12, 1, and frequently.

solitudine agitur. Oratori autem clamore plausuque opus est et velut quodam theatro; qualia cotidie antiquis oratoribus contingebant, cum tot pariter ac tam nobiles forum coartarent, cum clientelae quoque ac tribus et municipiorum etiam legationes ac pars Italiae periclitantibus adsisteret, cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid iudicaretur. Satis constat C. Cornelium et M. Scaurum et T. Milonem et L. Bestiam et P. Vatinium concursu totius civitatis et accusatos et defensos, ut frigidissimos quoque oratores ipsa certantis populi studia excitare et incendere potuerint. Itaque hercule eius modi libri extant, ut ipsi quoque qui egerunt non aliis magis orationibus censeantur.

17. *et* (before *municipiorum*) ADCV_2H, *ac* B Halm. 18. *partis* HVSp., *partes assisterent* Rhenanus. 24. *egerunt . . . censeantur* codd., *legerunt . . . accendantur* Andresen, Wolff.

14. **clamore plausuque,** as Hist. iii. 83, 2 clamore et plausu.

16. **nobiles,** sc. homines. The frequent use of adjectives as nouns makes it unnecessary to insert *homines* in the text, with Orelli.—On the other hand, Baehrens and John supply 'oratores,' out of *antiquis . . . oratoribus* immediately before, and the latter translates 'when the simultaneous appearance in the forum of so many distinguished speakers occasioned a real crowd.' But does the writer not mean that the needed stimulus was produced, in those times, by the crowded forum, with the great men of the day, as well as the multitude, for an audience?

18. **pars Italiae . . . adsisteret.** So Ann. xiii. 4 ad fin. consulum tribunalibus Italia et publicae provinciae adsisterent.

plerisque, 'most,' as at 26. 7. See on 2. 10.

20. **C. Cornelium,** tribune in 67, and impeached by P. Cominius Spoletinus in 65 on a charge of *maiestas.* He was successfully defended by Cicero (Brut. § 271) in a speech which is no longer extant.

M. Aemilius Scaurus was praetor in Sardinia in 56, and when accused of extortion was defended by six advocates, one of whom was Cicero.

L. Calpurnius Bestia was unsuccessfully defended by Cicero in 56 on a charge of *ambitus*: ad Qu. Fr. ii. § 6 'A. d. iii Id. Febr. dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud praetorem Cn. Domitium in foro medio, maximo conventu.'

21. **P. Vatinius**: see on 21. 9.

22. **frigidissimos quoque** = vel frigidissimos. For this use of *quoque,* see on 6. 19.

23. **excitare et incendere.** So often in Cicero 'excitare et inflammare,' pro Leg. Manil. § 2: de Harusp. resp. 1. § 19.

Itaque hercule: 14. 19: 30. 19.

eius modi . . . ut. It seems best to take *eius modi,* with John, as predicative: tr. 'Thus it is that the speeches that have come down to us are of such a character (i.e. so good) that those who delivered them take rank by them more than by any others': they not only decided the fate of the accused at the time, but they may still be taken as unsurpassed performances on the part of their authors. Others separate *eius modi* from *ut,* rendering 'Thus it is that speeches of this class are still extant: those who delivered them owe their fame to none more than to these.' To make this meaning clear, Heller suggests *et . . . censentur.* But it may be questioned whether 'libri' does not refer exclusively to the speeches just mentioned.

24. **egerunt.** For this absolute use, cp. 18. 6: Quint. iii. 3, 16 (is qui agit), xii. 9, 9, and frequently.

25. **censeantur** = aestimentur. Cp. Agric. xlv. 4 una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur. The constr. is very frequent in post-classical Latin for 'to be appreciated,' 'distinguished' for something, to 'take rank by' something: Juv. viii. 2 longo sanguine censeri: Suet.

40. Iam vero contiones assiduae et datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi atque ipsa inimicitiarum gloria, cum se plurimi disertorum ne a Publio quidem Scipione aut *L.* Sulla aut Cn. Pompeio abstinerent, et ad incessendos principes viros, ut est natura invidiae, populi quoque *ut histriones* auribus uterentur, quantum ardorem ingeniis, quas oratoribus faces admovebant! Non de otiosa et quieta re loquimur et quae probitate et modestia gaudeat, sed est magna illa et notabilis eloquentia alumna

40. 3. *L.* add. Ritter. *Sylla* ABEV$_2$H, *Silla* V and edd. vett., *Sila* CΔD. 5. *ut histriones* Halm and edd., *et histriones* codd. *auribus* codd., *plausibus* Haase, *populi quoque pronis, ut histriones, auribus* Wolff (after Weissenborn, Halm, and Helmreich), *histriones quoque populi auribus* Acidalius, *populi poetae quoque et histriones auribus* Vahlen, *populi quoque ut histriones clamoribus excitarentur* Novak (cp. codd. Liv. xxvii. 13, 13). 7. *Non enim* Muretus.

Gramm. 10 Eratosthenes multiplici variaque doctrina censebatur: cp. Sen. Ep. 76, 8: Mart. i. 61, 3: ix. 16, 5: Val. Max. v. 3, 3.

40. 2. ipsa inimicitiarum gloria. Cp. Hist. ii. 53, 5 ut . . . magnis inimicitiis claresceret. So also ch. 37. above, ad fin.

3. **disertorum.** For the partitive genitive after *plurimi*, cp. Ann. iv. 57, 5: vi. 22, 15.

4. **ut est natura invidiae.** This should be taken along with *ad incessendos principes viros*: Hor. Car. ii. 10, 5–12.

5. **populi quoque ut histriones auribus uterentur.** This reading involves only the change of the MS. *et* to *ut*, for which cp. 22. 20. The point of resemblance between the demagogues and the actors is that the former seized on such opportunities as they could get of working up the passions and prejudices of the whole body of the people, instead of confining their attacks to deliberative assemblies such as the senate, or to the still more formal procedure of the courts of law. For the licence of actors see Val. Max. vi. 2, 9: Cic. pro Sest. lvi–lvii. But I cannot help thinking that *et histriones* may be a gloss. The true reading may be simply 'populi quoque auribus uterentur': cp. Enn. ap. Non. 306 more antiquo audibo atque aures tibi contra utendas dabo.—The conjecture 'pronis auribus' is supported by Hist. i. 1, 10 obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur.

6. **ardorem.** Cic. Brut. § 93 ardor animi non semper adest isque cum consedit omnis illa vis et quasi flamma oratoris exstinguitur.

faces admovebant: so 'faces addere,' Hist. i. 24, 1: facem praeferre, ib. ii. 86, 20. For the figure cp. Quint. i. 1, 25 id nobis acriores ad studia dicendi faces subdidisse: Cic. de Or. iii. § 4 hic cum . . . Philippo quasi quasdam verborum faces admovisset: ii. § 205 hae dicendi faces. So of the fiery furnace of affliction, Cic. de Off. ii. § 37 dolorum cum admoventur faces.

7. **Non de, &c.** For the theory that Maternus's speech only begins here, after a lacuna in which the first part of it is lost as well as the last part of the speech of the previous speaker (Secundus? Messalla??), see Introd. p. xli.

otiosa et quieta, 'quiet and peaceable': cp. 38. ad fin. quies et otium. So Cic. Leg. Agr. ii. § 102 etiam istos quibus odio est otium quietissimos atque otiosissimos reddam: ib. § 77: de Sen. § 82 otiosam et quietam aetatem.

8. **alumna licentiae.** Cicero on the other hand says 'pacis est comes otiique socia et iam bene constitutae civitatis quasi alumna quaedam eloquentia,' Brut. § 45: cp. de Or. ii. § 30 in omni pacata et libera civitate dominatur: ib. i. § 30 haec una res in omni libero populo maximeque in pacatis tranquillisque civitatibus praecipue semper floruit semperque dominata est. The antagonism is to be explained by recognising the different point of view from which Cicero writes. Maternus is thinking of the political divisions at Athens, out of which some gain came to oratory, and also, no doubt, of such an incident as the Gracchan revolution at Rome; Cicero is stating the general principle that eloquence, like the other

licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocabant, comes seditionum, effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio, sine *veritate*, contumax, temeraria, adrogans, quae in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur. Quem enim oratorem Lacedaemonium, quem Cretensem accepimus? quarum civitatum severissima disciplina et severissimae leges traduntur. Ne Macedonum quidem ac Persarum aut ullius gentis quae certo imperio contenta fuerit eloquentiam novimus. Rhodii quidam, plurimi Athenienses oratores extiterunt, apud quos omnia populus, omnia imperiti, omnia, ut sic dixerim, omnes poterant. Nostra quoque civitas, donec erravit, donec se partibus et dissensionibus et discordiis confecit, donec nulla fuit in foro pax, nulla in senatu concordia, nulla in iudiciis moderatio, nulla superiorum reverentia, nullus magistratuum modus, tulit sine dubio valentiorem eloquentiam,

9. *vocabant* codd., *vocant* Heumann, *vocitant* Hess, Baehrens: cp. 23. 5. 10. *veritate* Steiner, *servitute* codd., *severitate* Pithou. Qy. *reverentia?* 13. *accepimus* DC, *accipimus* ABHEV$_2$. *sanctissima disciplina* Orelli, *sanctissimae leges* Schele. 14. *Ne* D, *nec* cett. codd. 15. *ullius* AHE, *illius* BCDV$_2$. 22. *metus* Orelli.

arts of peace, flourishes best where there is an established order. That Cicero was aware that great eloquence often works mischief is clear from de Inv. i. § 1: de Or. i. § 38.

9. **licentiae . . . libertatem.** So Hist. ii. 10, 2: Cic. in Verr. iii. § 3. Cp. the frequent iuxtaposition of *licentia* and *libido*, *libertas* and *libido*.

vocabant seems quite appropriate to the context, which consists of a review of the past.

10. **incitamentum.** A favourite word with Tacitus. It is noticeable that it does not occur in Quintilian.

veritate, 'reality,' as 35. 17. Heller supports this reading by a reference to Plato, Gorgias 525 A, where ἄνευ ἀληθείας is followed by ὑπὸ ἐξουσίας καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ὕβρεως καὶ ἀκρασίας τῶν πράξεων, on which 'sine obsequio contumax, temeraria, adrogans' seems to have been modelled. Tacitus was familiar with the Gorgias: cp. Ann. vi. 6 with 524 E, and Agr. iv. 13 (of the study of philosophy) with 484 D. See Philologus, li. p. 350.

12. **Lacedaemonium.** So Cic. Brut. § 50 Lacedaemonium vero (sc. oratorem) usque ad hoc tempus audivi fuisse neminem: cp. Quint. ii. 16, 4.

13. **accepimus.** Cp. 12. 19.

quarum civitatum, &c., i.e. history contains no example of a more rigorous constitution or more stringent legislation.

14. **Ne . . . quidem.** See on 29. 14.

18. **ut sic dixerim.** See on 34. 7. There is a reminiscence of Vergil's 'non omnia possumus omnes,' except that here *omnes* rather = οἱ πάντες, as Germ. xi. 2; ii. 20.

19. **erravit.** So long as it swayed hither and thither, was unsettled: cp. erranti populo, 36. 9. The opposite would be 'certo imperio usus est': cp. above certo imperio contenta. So 10. 19 cum natura te tua in arcem . . . ferat, errare mavis.

21. **nullus magistratuum modus** is generally taken as = 'no sense of propriety (or 'restraint') on the part of the magistrates': cp. 'moderati iudices,' 5. 2 and 'modus et temperamentum,' 41. 23. Greef, however, says that the phrase is equivalent to 'nullus magistratuum modus *oratorum*,' and really means 'a magistratibus effrenata oratorum licentia non coercebatur.'

22. **sine dubio . . . sed.** So Ann. ii. 51, 7: sine dubio . . . tamen, Agr. xlv. 22: ceterum, Ann. i. 6, 6: rursus, Ann. xi. 28, 7. In all these cases the statement made in the *sine dubio* clause is meant to be

sicut indomitus ager habet quasdam herbas laetiores: sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut pateretur et leges, nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.

41. Sic quoque quod superest antiqui oratoribus fori non emendatae nec usque ad votum compositae civitatis argumentum est. Quis enim nos advocat nisi aut nocens aut miser? Quod municipium in clientelam nostram venit, nisi quod aut vicinus populus aut domestica discordia agitat? Quam provinciam tuemur nisi spoliatam vexatamque? Atqui melius fuisset non

23. *sicut indomitus* Aldine 1534, *sicuti domitus* codd. *laetiores* Rhenanus, *latiores* *bene* codd. 24. *tanti* Rhenanus, *tuta* codd. 25. *bene* BDC, *bonae* Hb, *bone* A. *famam* Muretus, *formam* codd.

41. 1. *antiqui oratoribus fori* Spengel, *antiquis oratoribus forum* (ABDH, *horum* $EV_2C\Delta$) codd., *antiqui oratoribus horum temporum* Baehrens. 2. *emendatae* Lipsius, *emendare* codd. 3. *Quis enim* $EV_2C\Delta$, *Quidem quod nemo* AH (in A *quis enim* is written above the line), *Quid enim quod nemo* B, *Quis enim quidem quod nemo* D. The variants must have resulted from a gloss on 'Quis enim' ('idem quod nemo'). 4. *clientelam* Pithou, *civitatem* codd.

less emphatic than that in the clause following: cp. Quint. i. 6, 12; v. 7, 28; v. 10, 53; viii. 3, 67; x. 1, 57: Introd. to Book x. p. liii. I have altered the traditional punctuation (which makes 'Sed nec tanti,' &c. an independent sentence) in order to bring out the connexion between *sine dubio* and *sed*.

23. **indomitus ager**: cp. 6. ad fin. So Cic. Or. § 48 ut segetes fecundae et uberes non solum fruges verum herbas ('weeds') etiam effundunt.

laetiores. *Laetus* is often used in Vergil of rich vegetation: Georg. i. 339 laetis operatus in herbis, and ii. 48 laeta et fortia surgunt: in iii. 385 (fuge pabula laeta) and 494 (laetis moriuntur in herbis) the word means 'luxuriant,' in the sense of rankness rather than richness. Cp. notes on Quint. x. 3, 15 and 1, § 46.

nec tanti . . . fuit. So 37. 27: Lucan, Phars. iii. 51 nec vincere tanti ut bellum differret erat. Cp. Cicero's unfavourable references to the legislation of the Gracchi, e.g. de Or. i. § 38 ista praeclara gubernatrice civitatum eloquentia rempublicam dissipaverunt.

25. **nec bene . . . pensavit**: 'Cicero's oratorical renown was a poor compensation for his tragic end:' his death was a 'big price' to pay for his fame as an orator. So often *compensare* in Cicero, though such an expression as 'exitum fama pensavit' would be less uncommon: Hist. iii. 26 ad fin.: iv. 74, 9: Agr. xxii. 11 (damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare): Liv. xxvii. 40 adversa secundis pensando.

41. 1. **Sic quoque**, &c. 'Even as it is, the survivals that our speakers have left them of the forum of old go to show a civil condition which is not faultless, or well-ordered as heart could wish.' *Sic quoque* is explained by 'donec erravit,' &c., above: for the meaning 'even as things are at present,' see Ann. iv. 40, 14: and cp. xv. 17, 7: Quint. x. 1, 131: Sen. de Ben. iii. 31, 1: Ep. 94. 31.

non emendatae, i.e. when judged by an ideal standard. Cp. 'composita et quieta et beata re publica,' 36. 6, where the speaker is emphasizing the contrast between imperial and republican times.

2. **ad votum** = κατ' εὐχήν, as Quint. Decl. iii. 12 ad omne votum fluente fortuna. Cp. on 5. 23.

4. **clientelam.** Cic. Rosc. Am. § 106 se in Chrysogoni fidem et clientelam contulerunt. Cp. 3. ad fin. 'tot coloniarum et municipiorum clientelae.'

6. **tuemur**, 'appear for.' This meaning is frequent in Quintilian. Cp. on 7. 8. For the wrongs of the provincials, see Juv. Sat. viii. 87, 112.

Atqui melius. 'But to have no complaint to make would have been better than having to seek redress,'—lit. than to be avenged. *Non queri* = to bring no

queri quam vindicari. Quod si inveniretur aliqua civitas in qua nemo peccaret, supervacuus esset inter innocentes orator sicut inter sanos medicus. Quo modo tamen minimum usus minimumque profectus ars medentis habet in iis gentibus quae firmissima valetudine ac saluberrimis corporibus utuntur, sic minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos. Quid enim opus est longis in senatu sententiis, cum optimi cito consentiant? Quid multis apud populum contionibus, cum de re publica non imperiti et multi deliberent, sed sapientissimus et unus? Quid voluntariis accusationibus, cum tam raro et tam parce peccetur? Quid invidiosis et excedentibus modum defensionibus, cum clementia cognoscentis obviam

9. *tamen* $EV_2C\Delta DH$, *inde* AB, *autem* Michaelis, Novak, *enim* Heumann, Halm, Müller. 12. *honor* Orelli, *horum* codd., om. A. *obscuriorque* ABDH, *obscurior* $EV_2C\Delta$. 14. *optimi* Rhenanus, *optima* codd.

charge, because there are no grounds for a charge. For the thought cp. 37. 18 quae mala sicut non accidere melius est: Iuv. viii. 94 Sed quid damnatio confert, &c. With *melius*, *longum*, *aequum*, &c. the indicative is more common: Cic. de N. D. iii. 33 prohiberi melius fuit impedirique ne . . . quam ipsum aliquando poenas dare (Roby, 1535): de Off. iii. § 94 quanto melius fuerat in hoc promissum patris non esse servatum. So *oportuerat* pro Mur. § 25. Cp. however de Sen. § 82 Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam et quietam aetatem . . . traducere?

7. **Quod si inveniretur,** &c. For the thought, Novak compares Quint. Decl. p. 95, 21 Et sane si iustitia valeat quid est eloquentia? quid ergo civitati conferunt (oratores)?

9. **Quo modo . . . sic.** So 25. 10; 36. 33; 39. 6.

tamen. John thinks that *tamen* connects well with the preceding imperfect subjunctives (inveniretur . . . supervacuus esset). The meaning would then be, 'that is of course an unrealizable ideal, and so the orator is not altogether superfluous: but all the same,' &c. The reading is however doubtful.

10. **medentis.** See on *cognoscentis*, below.

11. **saluberrimis.** So Hist. v. 6, 4 Corpora hominum salubria et ferentia laborum: Ann. ii. 33, 14 salubritas corporum. The same use of this adj. is found in Livy and Sallust, but not in Cicero.

12. **honor . . . gloria.** Cp. 12. 14, and (figuratively) Germ. v. 5 ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis. So *laus* and *fama* are conjoined, 7. 11: fama, gloria, laus, 18. 2: laus, gloria 26. 10, and line 22 below.

13. **regentis,** obj. gen.: more usually *erga* c. acc., Germ. xliv. 5. *Regere* is used intransitively, of the princeps, also at Ann. iv. 33, 18; xiii. 3, 4: cp. Quint. iii. 8, 47: Sen. de Ira ii. 15, 4. For *paratos in* cp. Quint. x. 5, 12 in omnes causas paratus: Hist. iv. 32, 8 paratum in res novas: Verg. Aen. ii. 61 in utrumque paratus.

longis . . . sententiis. The speaker recurs here to what was said in 36. 27 'cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere.' A compliment is implied to the administration of Vespasian ('sapientissimus et unus'), though the picture is an ideal one.

14. **multis . . . contionibus.** Cp. 36. 10 Hinc contiones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris. For the thought, compare Quint. vi. 1, 35 quod genus nostris temporibus totum paene sublatum est, cum omnia curae tutelaeque unius innixa periclitari nullo iudicii exitu possint.

15. **multi** = *οἱ πολλοί*: tr. 'the uninstructed many.'

17. **parce,** almost synonymous with 'raro,' though the translators render 'slight,' 'insignificant': cp. Hor. Car. i. 25, 1 Parcius iunctas, &c., and Quintilian frequently.

invidiosis, 'hate-stirring.' Hist. i. 33, 12.

18. **cognoscentis.** For the substantival use of the participle, cp. medentis,

periclitantibus eat? Credite, optimi et in quantum opus est disertissimi viri, si aut vos prioribus saeculis aut illi quos miramur his nati essent, ac deus aliquis vitas ac [vestra] tempora repente mutasset, nec vobis summa illa laus et gloria in eloquentia neque illis modus et temperamentum defuisset: nunc, quoniam nemo eodem tempore adsequi potest magnam famam et magnam quietem, bono saeculi sui quisque citra obtrectationem alterius utatur.'

42. Finierat Maternus, cum Messalla: 'Erant quibus contra dicerem, erant de quibus plura dici vellem, nisi iam dies esset exactus.'

'Fiet' inquit Maternus 'postea arbitratu tuo, et si qua tibi obscura in hoc meo sermone visa sunt, de iis rursus conferemus.'

20. *illi* Halm, *isti* codd. 21. *ac deus* codd., Halm: *aut deus* Baehrens. [*vestra*] Halm, Baehrens, *tempora vestra* Haase, *vitas vestras ac tempora* Bekker. Qy. *vitas vestras et vetera tempora?* E gives *et* for *ac*. 25. *bono* codd.: *huius* HVSp.

regentis, above, praecipientium 28. 6: dicentium 6. 18. So often discens, audiens, docens, &c. *Cognoscere* occurs in the same sense at 19. 23, where see note.

19. **in quantum opus est**, i.e. considering the limited field now open to eloquence. Cp. 1. 11 disertissimorum, ut nostris temporibus, hominum.

21. **ac deus aliquis**, &c. Baehrens and, on different grounds, John prefer to read 'aut deus aliquis,' &c., and there is perhaps a certain want of logical precision in the way in which the writer presents what is really intended as a dual alternative. The first hypothesis is, according to John, the transportation of one of the two parties (*aut vos . . . aut illi*) into the age of the other: the second the simultaneous reciprocal exchange of epochs (*deus . . . repente mutasset*). But it is possible to be too exacting in the way of precision of statement: the *ac deus . . . mutasset* clause seems rather to have been added in the way of an afterthought: Novak indeed, following Müller's suggestion, rejects it altogether, as having been added by some one who remembered the well-known passage in Horace (Sat. i. 1, 15).

vestra is rightly rejected by many editors as superfluous: its position also renders it open to suspicion. It could only mean 'yours and those of the *antiqui*,' whereas, immediately before and after, *vos* is used of those whom the speaker is addressing alone.

25. **citra**. See on 27. 9. Maternus concludes with an attempt to reconcile the conflicting views of Aper and Messalla, while justifying himself, in the altered conditions of the time, for preferring poetry to rhetoric.

alterius involves a brachyology. Tr. 'Let every one enjoy the blessings of his own age, without disparaging those of any other.'

42. 3. **exactus**, 'far-spent': so Agr. xxxviii. 12 exacta iam aestate: ib. iii. 5 exactae aetatis: Hist. iii. 33, 4: iv. 84, 5. For the same idea of 'completing' a thing, cp. also Lucan, Phars. ii. 577 Ante bis exactum quam Cynthia conderet orbem: ib. viii. 376.

4. **arbitratu tuo**. Cic. Brut. § 42 At ille ridens 'Tuo vero' inquit 'arbitratu': de Am. § 3 arbitratu meo. So too frequently in Livy. The nominative and accusative singular are found only in Plautus.

5. **de iis . . . conferemus**. This is an unusual construction. Cicero often uses 'inter se conferre,' but always with the acc. or with a dependent clause: ad Att. i. 20, 1 Si quid res feret, coram inter nos conferemus, de Fin. iv. § 4. Cp.

Ac simul adsurgens et Aprum complexus 'Ego' inquit 'te poetis, Messalla autem antiquariis criminabimur.'

'At ego vos rhetoribus et scholasticis' inquit.

Cum adrisissent, discessimus.

42. 7. *autem* Weissenborn, *cum* codd. Perhaps it should be omitted, with the Puteolanus. Or is it possible that *cum* conceals *omnibus*? cp. 2. 14, and 13. 14.

Agr. xv. 2 'conferre iniurias,' though there the word may = comparare.

7. **criminabimur.** For the plural, cp. *adferant*, 35. 8; Dr. § 29.

9. **Cum adrisissent.** For the ending cp. the close of the First Book of the *de Oratore*, also the *de Natura Deorum*, iii. ch. xl.

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INDEX OF WORDS AND PHRASES.

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